National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

RETALIATION ON THE NORTH.

[From The Richmond (Va.) Enquirer.]

We are so profoundly sensible of the necessity of union among ourselves in the approaching collision with the Free Soil majority in the House of Representatives, that we are prepared to sacrifice, freely and cheerfully, our individual opinions to promote this end. When this collision will take place, or what its result will be, no human tongue can predict. It may be at the next session of Congress, on the admission of a delegate from Kansas; for it is by no means improbable that the Abolitionists in that Territory will hold a separate election and send a delegate of their own to contest the seat of the lawful delegate. In view of the fact that Abolitionists will have a Free Soil majority to back his claims, the result must, at least, appear doubtful.

We are possibly, therefore, on the brink of the great and final struggle with Free Soilism, and it behooves us to prepare as men should, who may be called on to choose between slavery and revolution. Therefore it is that we declare our readiness to sacrifice, if necessary, cherished opinions to promote harmony. Whenever the South, or Virginia, shall indicate her course, we shall pursue it with heart and hand; but until that course be determined, we deem it our duty to discuss, in a free and friendly way with our Southern compatriots, all matters of common interest. In the discharge of this duty, we can no longer forbear to consider the question of retaliation on the North by commercial restrictions. It has been discussed already by the press of this State, and will, in all probability, be brought forward in the next Legislature. It is, therefore, an important practical question, and should be calmly considered in all its bearings.

We are free to confess that we are not satisfied with the feasibility of any plan of commercial retaliation yet proposed. The Constitution of the United States presents obstacles to such retaliation, difficult if not impossible to surmount.

[*The Inquirer* argues this point at considerable length, and then proceeds:]

Shall we of the South, and especially of Virginia, forget our accustomed fidelity to the Constitution, and seek to evade its obligations? Is not strict obedience to its behests our only source of power? With what face can we call upon others to respect an instrument which we ourselves violate? Does it change the case for us to allege that we were not the first to disregard our constitutional obligations? While it is our Constitution, are we not bound by it? This is no case of a violated treaty, where one violation may be met by another similar in character, but a question under a Constitution which can only be thrown off by revolution, or amended in conformity with its own provisions. Fidelity to the Constitution is the only shield of the South. Fling that away, and we are at the mercy of an unprincipled, lawless majority. When we do throw it away, we must throw off Northern rule. The latter, without the former, will be intolerable; and when we permanently fail in recalling the Congressional majority to a sense of constitutional obligation, that majority must cease to rule us.

A proper appreciation of constitutional restrictions is evidence of the highest civilization and of the greatest progress in the science of government. The want of it indicates either savage ignorance or a corrupt intelligence still more fatal. We possess this appreciation in an eminent degree, and let us preserve it as our most cherished sentiment.

We are entirely at a loss to know how the Constitutional difficulties of this proposed retaliation can be surmounted. How can we retaliate on the commerce of Massachusetts without regulating it? How can we prohibit it, or interfere with the consumption of her products by our people without imposing "a charge on their introduction and incorporation into the mass of our property," and thus coming in direct conflict with the Supreme Court, or without an attempt to sneak round this difficulty equally ineffectual and less honourable?

But admit that these difficulties may be avoided, is it practicable to exclude the products of Massachusetts, or any single State? So far as we can see, it is not, for nothing would be easier than to interpose a third party, and to bring them in as the property of citizens of New York or Philadelphia. A merchant in Richmond, wishing to buy a lot of cotton cloths manufactured at Lowell, would request his New York correspondent to make the purchase for him.

If it be intended to exclude all the products of Massachusetts, without reference to ownership, then the exclusion will apply to citizens of other States, who may have purchased them, and thus one object of the measure, the infliction of punishment only on the most flagrant delinquent, will fail. It will be, moreover, exceedingly difficult, if not entirely impracticable, to discover or to pursue the products of Massachusetts after they shall have mingled with the mass of our property, and yet not before can we touch them or impede their consumption.

The exclusion, if effected, would serve only to irritate, unless concurred in by a considerable portion of the South. The whole world furnish markets to Massachusetts, and can it be supposed that she would seriously feel the loss of one-sixth of the Southern population as customers? Such warfare will be mere scratching, utterly unworthy of the cause and of our own manhood. It will be like the wretchedly abortive attempt made fifteen years ago to subject New York vessels to an unusually rigorous inspection. A statute was passed, and afterwards silently dropped as a thing to be ashamed of. It served no other purpose than to show impotent spite.

By the census of 1850, the annual product of manufactures, mining and mechanical arts in Massachusetts was $151,000,000. The whole import of Virginia, domestic and foreign, does not, at the highest estimate, exceed $15,000,000, or about one-tenth of the annual product of Massachusetts; but of this import, perhaps not one-third consists of the products of the latter State—consequently the proposition is for us to starve her into a sense of duty by attempting to exclude from our territory the thirtieth part of her annual product—an attempt which will, probably, be unsuccessful.

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In our view, the policy of the South is a very simple one. It is to look on quietly at the battle raging in the Northern States between the friends and the enemies of the Federal Constitution, to trust to the sober second thought of the North, and to prepare, calmly and without threats, for the revolution that may be forced upon us. We have already indicated what, in our judgment, that preparation should be. It will not hasten the revolution. It will not be thrown away if that revolution never comes, but, on the contrary, we shall only have done what we ought to do in any event.

An attempt to coerce the North, or to punish a Northern State by commercial regulation or otherwise, will, we fear, do more harm than good. We must not mistake the Northern character in our indignation at their conduct. We shall be very wide of the mark if we consider them as only controlled by fanaticism and love of money, and that each predominates as it is more vigorously wrought upon. They are both fanatical and money-loving, and are by no means a high-minded people, but they have Anglo-Saxon pluck, like ourselves, and do not take thrashing kindly. No matter how aggressive they may be, they will be irritated and not subdued by retaliation. If left to themselves, they may return to their senses; if assailed, they assuredly will not. Hence, we are in favour of abstaining from everything that will tend to irritate them. We would have no denunciatory resolutions, no acrimonious debate, but they should see, from our attitude and preparation, that we have not the most distant idea of submitting to the exclusion of a slave State, or the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. Nevertheless, if, contrary to our opinion, it be determined to retaliate by commercial restrictions or otherwise, we shall pursue the course adopted by Virginia, with heart and hand.

We only beg that it may be suitable to the occasion, and not a mere empty ebullition of spleen. If we strike a blow at Northern commerce, let it be at the root and not at the branches. Let it be a blow that will resound until the echo reaches John Bull, and calls him over to supplant his rival. Let us put New England out and bring Old England in! It is easier to prohibit than to regulate commerce with the North, and easier to exterminate than to cripple it. So long as we leave one free State on the Atlantic unrestricted, she will be the channel through which others will trade. It is in vain to shut out Massachusetts if you leave the door open to New York. Moreover, they have all injured us, and none are entitled to exemptions. New York set free the Lemmon slaves, and refused to give up kidnapping. Pennsylvania murdered Gorsuch, and liberated Mr. Wheeler's negroes. All are implicated alike, and none can complain of non-intercourse with the South. We should embrace them all, therefore, in whatever measures may be adopted.

To make such measures effective, they must be concurred in by the principal States of the South. Certainly by those growing cotton. We must cut off Northern factories from Southern cotton fields, and Northern cities from Southern wheat fields. We must counteract the existing tariff, bring in the English and continental manufacturer, and throw commerce back into its ancient channels. Let our workshops be at Manchester and Birmingham, as of old, until they are erected on our own soil. John Bull may Abolitionize as much as he pleases, he can't steal our negroes or violate our Constitution. He never can do us a thousandth part of the wrong that our Northern *brethren* have inflicted on us. He will give us better articles and direct trade. He will come to our own ports, and we shall see our waters white with canvass, and our wharves lined with ships. Southern commerce will again rise, and Southern manufactures, freed from Northern competition, and near the raw material, will soon give us commercial independence.

We shall be cramped at first, but it will be better for us in the end. We shall suffer less by substituting foreign commerce for trade with the North than by merely harassing and crippling the latter. We must have trade, we cannot do without it; and it will be infinitely better for us to bring in the foreign trade, fully and completely, than to be halting between an incomplete foreign commerce and a crippled domestic trade.

But how shall this be done? Here is the rub, we confess. We are not permitted by the Supreme Court to tax imports until they are incorporated with the mass of property in the country, when it may be impossible to distinguish them. We cannot require the importer to take out a license, or tax him, or interfere with his sales.

But there are certain things we may do that will render the position of importer anything but comfortable. We can declare that any person who shall import goods manufactured in any State, on the Atlantic, prohibiting slavery by law, shall be incapable of holding any office of honour, trust or emolument under the Commonwealth, of being the president, director or cashier of any bank, of being a president or director in any internal improvement company, of suing in the Courts of the Commonwealth, of taking out a license to sell goods, or to practice any profession, or to pursue any calling licensed by law; in short, he may be outlawed as an enemy of the Commonwealth. The purchase of such goods from the importers might, also, be subjected to penalties and disabilities, although this, perhaps, would be encroaching upon the right of sale guaranteed to the importer by the decision of the Supreme Court.

We do not see how mere personal disabilities of the character we have indicated could be held unconstitutional. It would be a great stretch to consider them "as regulating commerce"; far greater than the Court ventured upon in *Brown* against *The State of Maryland*. Nor do we see how an importer could get along who could not sue in the State Courts, or sell anything but imported goods, to which the want of a license would restrict him.

We are conscious, however, that provisions of this kind are difficult to frame, where there is much temptation to evade them. Nothing but continued legislation serves to defeat evasions, and that would have to be resorted to when needed.

We are by no means wedded to these opinions, and give them as suggestions to be be considered, rather than as a plan proposed for adoption. This subject is a difficult one, and many suggestions should be made before the adoption of any measure.

We repeat, to avoid being misunderstood, that we do not favour retaliation. We prefer being either in or out of the Union. If we are to have Union, it should be under and in strict accordance with the Constitution, with no evasions of that instrument, in letter or spirit, on our part. If our fidelity will not secure reciprocal good faith, we had better separate. A Union on any other terms than reciprocal good feeling and good offices will be too hateful for endurance. Retaliation will banish these, and be the entering wedge for separation.

SLAVES ON RAILROAD.

[From The St. Louis Republican, August 23.]

PACIFIC RAILROAD OF MISSOURI,
ENGINEER'S OFFICE, St. Louis, Aug. 22, 1855.

MR. EDITOR: The following order will explain itself. As this will cause much inconvenience to persons, strangers to the officers of the road, travelling with or sending their servants, I regret the necessity of issuing the order, but the law is so stringent that I see no other way of protecting the company.

Last Sunday two negroes applied to the Station Agent at Hermann, showing what, to all appearance, were genuine passes from the owner. The Station Agent is an old resident of Hermann, knew the owner of the slaves, and supposed, of course, that the passes had been given by the owner for a Sunday trip. After reaching St. Louis, the negroes made their escape, and, although recovered in Illinois and returned to their owner, the claim is now made for double the value of the negroes, on the ground that they were simply transported in this State from one point to another on what proved to be a forged pass, although there is every evidence that the Station Agent at Hermann acted in good faith.

This order affects the convenience of passengers and freighters coming or sending to the road from a distance, and an insertion will oblige yours,

T. S. O'SULLIVAN, Engineer and Superintendent.

An Act concerning the transportation of Slaves by Railroad Companies.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows: That the several Railroad Companies in this State, whose officers shall transport any slaves from one point or place in this State, or any other point or place in the same, in any car or other conveyance of said companies, without the consent or permission of the person to whom such slave does of right belong, or who has authority to grant such consent or permission, shall forfeit and pay double the value of such slave to his owner, to be recovered by action of debt, without prejudice to the rights of such owner to his action at common law.

This act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved February 27, 1855.

ENGINEER'S OFFICE, PACIFIC RAILROAD,
St. Louis, August 22, 1855.

To J. M. WARD, Master of Trains on P. R. R.

SIR: It will be seen by the above law that no slave shall be transported over the road without the consent of the rightful owner, and that the responsibility as to the real ownership seems placed upon the Railroad Company. It therefore seems necessary to issue the following order:

That, unless by special written permission of the President or Superintendent, no coloured person shall be transported over the road, unless accompanied by the owner, known as such by the station agent or conductor, in which case such owner will give to the conductor a written statement of the fact, and date of such transportation. In case the owner should not be known by the agent or conductor, he must require good and sufficient bond from some person known by him to double the value of the slave.

This will prevent the transportation of all free negroes and all slaves without written passes or permission, except as above, from President or Superintendent, as the same may have been forged or improperly obtained possession of.

This order will, of necessity, cause much inconvenience to passengers and freighters, but it seems absolutely called for by the strict and binding terms of the law. The law, with this order, should be printed and conspicuously posted at every station, and in one car on each train.

Yours, &c., THOS. S. O'SULLIVAN,
Engineer and Superintendent.

SOUND OF THE WAR CLARION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

From The N. Y. Herald.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Charleston *Mercury*, in discussing the dangers to be apprehended by the South from our present Abolition agitation, says, in regard to the Northern anti-slavery fusionists, that—

"They count upon our weakness! Men of the South! do you acknowledge yourselves weak? Are you so ignorant of what constitutes military strength as to fear the North? Are you aware that money and men are the sinews of war? That you have a commerce founded upon a natural product of your soil, annually reproduced, and necessary to the whole world, and upon which much of the prosperity of your worst enemies is based? That to protect this, you have a million at least of warlike men trained from infancy to the use of the horse, and familiar with the most powerful hand-weapon ever invented by man?—a belt of sickly country, which an invader from the sea must occupy before he could strike at your vitals, and in which armies would perish, like the host of Sennacherib, before the destroying angel of the miasma? and a system of railroads which will enable the hordes of the mountains to sweep down upon the plains of the sea, of the Mississippi and of the Ohio, with a cavalry whose neck is indeed clothed with thunder, and 'the glory of whose nostrils is terrible?'"

Let our Northern disunionists see from this that they of South Carolina are still ahead; and if they are not satisfied with the foregoing military information, let them read what follows, and look well to the end before they begin their philanthropic work of coercion in behalf of the slaves of the South! Read:

"Have you so little military skill as to overlook the fact that the sturdy sons of Northern Virginia already hold the pass between the North and West, and that Maryland and the coast counties of Virginia and North Carolina, by their railroads and the Chesapeake, in these days of steam, flank an army advancing from the East on Pittsburg? That Missouri's rifles and hunting knives have already turned the hostile wing resting on the Mississippi; whilst Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas can throw their armies, by railroad and river, full upon the centre? When the God of battles gave you your mission, and the 'submissive knee-bender' was allotted to you for protection and cultivation the same wisdom that made him a slave, and doomed him to remain such by intellectually unfitting him for a state incompatible with his design, he gave you a geographical position which, in a stratagetic point of view, makes you unconquerable if you had the heart to hold it, and irresistible if you choose to assault from it? Will you abandon it, and, by your divisions among yourselves, forego the advantages it offers you, when from it you, standing side by side in firm and dignified array, may say to the rising storm, 'Peace, be still!'"

The meaning of this is, that the writer wants a purely sectional party organized in the South, in opposition to Seward's sectional disunion movement in the North; and our military Carolinian, in expectation of secession, disunion and war as the inevitable result of this organization of parties, has mapped out the whole programme of the clash of arms between the two sections. Some of our readers may smile at the gravity with which this Southern warrior unfolds his plan of operations; but when intelligent men, however inveterate their sectional views and fears may be upon the slavery question, deliberately sit down and upon this issue of slavery plan the order of battle for a continental civil war, surely there is matter in it for the serious reflection of every lover of the Union and the Constitution, North and South. And such are the peace and harmony secured to us by our Pierce Administration. All other issues have become secondary to the great ultimatum of the ultra agitators, North and South, of disunion and civil war. Is it not time for the sensible masses of the people to be moving?

Selections.

THE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS OF MR. WILLIAMSON AND JUDGE KANE.

BY REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D.

From The Independent.

THERE are sometimes occasions when the question of the liberty of a whole country seems concentrated upon one point, and placed in the hands of one or two men to settle. Divine Providence sets men on beacon-towers and pedestals, and the anxious gaze of the whole community is fixed upon them. Then character comes out. Sometimes private individuals are thrust forth in such prominent relief and importance, most unexpectedly and unintentionally to themselves.

Daniel's case is religiously familiar; so is that of the three in the fiery furnace. And many are the purely Christian instances on record, but the similar cases in the conflict for freedom, in the battle against tyranny, are more rare. Arnold Winkelreid, receiving the sheaf of spears into his own bosom, and so opening and breaking an Austrian phalanx, by sacrificing himself as a living wedge for the victory of his countrymen, is a sublime instance. The event is one of the most thrilling in the records of Swiss patriotism; rude, but most graphic and striking pictures of it are to this day common. Wordsworth has embalmed his story with Tell's, in the song of religion, glory and patriotic love.

"Thither, in time of adverse shocks,
Of fainting hopes, and backward wills
Did mighty Tell repair of old,
A hero, cast in Nature's mould,
Deliverer of the steadfast rocks,
And of the ancient hills!

HE, TOO, OF BATTLE MARTYRS CHIEF,
Who, to recall his daunted peers,
For victory shaped an open space,
By gathering, with a wide embrace,
Into his single heart, a sheaf
Of fatal Austrian spears!"

That sublime incident was an illustration, perhaps the most remarkable in profane history, of the spirit and the conduct which God requires in his prophets and soldiers. He rebukes and reproaches his people for the want of such men. "*Ye have not gone up into the gaps, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel, to stand in the battle in the day of the Lord.*" Arnold Winkelreid went into the gap, made up the gap by himself, and then filled it, and made up the hedge for his countrymen to stand in the battle. If the prophet Ezekiel could have searched all history, he could not have found a bolder illustration for that Scripture.

John Hampden was once put in something such a position by his stubborn and noble resistance to the king's illegal demand for ship-money. He was *a gap-man* for the people, and the people's rights. It was after the decision of the judges confirming the king's despotic assertion of a right by prerogative to levy the ship-money that Hampden refused to pay it. He was prosecuted in the court of exchequer, and, aided by counsel, argued the case himself against the crown lawyers for twelve days, before the twelve judges. The cause was decided against him by eight of the judges to four; but the victory was his in the enlightenment of the public mind, and its excitement against the royal despotism; his, in the heart and conscience of the people; and from that time forward he was regarded as *the patriot Hampden*. It is thus that tyrants, and the judges who are their tools, not unfrequently contrive to burn, beat and persecute, into the possession of a popular throne of power and influence, those whom they hoped to conquer and annihilate.

Granville Sharpe's defence of the poor negro Somerset, and Lord Mansfield's decision in favour of his freedom by touching British soil, were memorable instances.

Sometimes a great principle needs the resolute blow, audacious, decisive, commingled entirely of right and justice in essence, though perhaps wrong in the letter, which will strike the principle out of neglect and abstraction into a formidable and frowning reality, sublime and all-attracting. It is as if suddenly a great burning mountain were thrown into the sea. The emptying of a few chests of tea into a harbour may make such a crisis, creating form and visible enshrinement for the principle of *no taxation without representation*.

In such cases everything depends on the stuff of which the instruments are made. A moral bolt, a wedge, a spring, has to be thrown in; a pivot or a centre-piece must be inserted. Will it hold? If it does not, the whole cause, the whole principle falls, the whole experiment is a failure. God puts men in severe and trying emergencies, in just such positions, and the movements of the whole machinery of freedom and justice seem dependent upon them. If they are men of immutable principle, steadfast, immovable, it is a mighty triumph in their person, though often at a great cost.

Passmore Williamson, in the Providence of God, is seen now in just this position, and the eyes of multitudes are upon him, and the hearts of multitudes are beating with anxiety and prayer.

Judges are sometimes in such a position. They have been compelled, in deciding causes for others, to decide for their own life or death. A remorseless despot has glared upon them, watching every movement, and they have known that if they did not decide in favour of the wrong, they should lose both their office and their head. They have sometimes proved willing tools of despotism, and have rushed spontaneously into the work of oppression, Jeffreys-like, raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame. But sometimes, also, they have exhibited a majestic spectacle of calm and incorrupt integrity, a light of justice like the North Star, a righteousness traversing all causes on heavenly principle, even as the tides, with unfailing regularity, course their celestial rule. Lord Chief Justice Hale was such an example, so learned in the law, and so firm for justice, as the sole object of the law, that his opinion passed as an almost uncontrollable authority. HE WOULD NEVER SUFFER THE STRICTNESS OF LAW TO PREVAIL AGAINST CONSCIENCE, AND WOULD MAKE USE OF ALL THE NICETIES AND SUBTLETIES OF LAW TO SUPPORT RIGHT AND EQUITY.

But sometimes the judges prove quicksands, and the horse and his rider go down in them. The people look to them in vain. They are like an empty well in the desert, deceitful as the streams of brooks that pass away, blackish by reason of the ice; but when it is hot, they vanish. Then the troops of Tema and the companies of Sheba hope and wait for them in vain, and are ashamed and confounded.

The Court of Pennsylvania is prominent in such a position; and, by its support of Judge Kane's oppression of an innocent citizen, forces both the oppressor and the oppressed into more glaring and painful notoriety and contrast. Every day increases the difficulty. A man cannot, in our country, lie in prison without bail, without trial, without jury, and for no crime, under the hoof of an unjust judge, and the people be kept quiet, if the remedy be denied. The whole community have looked to the Court of Pennsylvania for justice. Excited by a great and undeniable outrage, they have quietly reposed upon their own tribunal, appointed for their protection and defence. They have broken into no violence, because they relied upon the integrity of their judges, and the majesty of righteous law. They were ready to say beforehand, These outrages might have no remedy under European despotisms, but we will show to the world how tyranny is conquered by law, and wrong and usurpation peacefully stopped and remedied.

They waited for the decision of the Court, fully believing that it would be a decision of law and equity. But they have been deplorably mistaken. Instead of law, they have gotten precedent; instead of principle, tyrannical expediency; instead of equity, injustice; instead of reparation for wrong, a deliberate defence of it, as an instinct of power in the Court. "*They looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry.*"

Only Judge Knox has refused his assent to this iniquity. But his clear and cogent argument has demonstrated the apology and justification of Mr. Williamson's imprisonment adopted by the Court to be contradictory to law, and subversive of our best ascertained rights and liberties.

In their argument and decision against Mr. Williamson, refusing to him his constitutional appeal of right, and his demand for trial, the judges "*have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam.*" Admitting the wrong, they say that there is no remedy for it, nor help against it, nor redemption from it. Admitting the wrong, they justify it by precedent, and they aver that its continued perpetration is necessary for the maintenance of the power and dignity of the Court, which is called a Court of Justice. But excepting Judge Knox, "none calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth"; and if ever, in the history of our country, the burning invectives of the prophet Isaiah against the avowal and justication of oppression by the rulers and judges of the Jews demanded application, it is in this case. "They trust in vanity and speak lies; they conceive mischief and bring forth iniquity. They hatch cockatrice's eggs, and weave the spider's web; he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper."

They aver that an unrighteous sentence must be executed, for the sake of sustaining the vigour of the government. What is this, but "justifying the wicked for reward, and taking away the righteousness of the righteous from him?" They refuse to do justice, and to undo wrong, on the plea that the decision of Judge Kane must be accepted and sustained as infallible and irreversible, or the power of the Court is in danger. But this support of power by injustice is digging down the charcoal foundations of the temple, to keep up the fires upon its altar.

As to the position of the Court and of Judge Kane, this case is involved in inextricable danger and difficulty. Nothing has ever occurred in our country to bring the majesty of law and the sacredness of courts of justice into such suspicion and contempt. If our judges would retrieve their reputation, and sustain their dignity and power, they must do it by righteousness and justice, for the eyes of the citizens are upon them; and when the known rights of the people are in jeopardy, as against *their* assumed infallibility, it is not difficult to know which party will conquer. But God forbid they should bring us to the conflict.

As to the position of Mr. Williamson, though painful, it is honourable and noble. Judge Kane's tyranny has placed him, though in prison, yet among the number of those whom persecution elevates to fame, and chases up to heaven. And Judge Black, in calling on him to submit, and advising him to perjure his conscience by acknowledging a crime of which he is not guilty, in order to come forth from prison, administers a bribe from the bench, and only gives him opportunity of greater fame by scornfully refusing the corruption.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

ADDRESS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION.

TO THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In all free countries political principles are represented by political parties. If parties cease to represent living principles, they become factions, injurious to the highest interests of the State, if not fatal to its life. Fortunate is it for a republic, if its citizens are found to have enough of virtue, intelligence, and self-control, to break the ties of associations, and the power of names, and to modify their political organizations to meet the real political questions of the hour. A happy omen is it for our republic that the parties of the day are organizing upon the principles of the day, to meet the real issues of the day.

Slavery, in its national relations, is the great political question of our times. Slavery within the Slave States is a matter of State control, for which we have no political responsibility. But an imperious necessity has made slavery, in its relations to the nation and to the Free States, a question of practical, immediate and paramount importance.

First. It is a paramount question. Slavery and freedom are inconsistent with each other. Slave labour and free labour cannot coöperate. Slaves in this country have so increased that the number of slaves now is greater than the entire population of the country at the time of the Revolution. At the regular and probable rate of increase, in eighty years there will be as many slaves as there are now inhabitants, bond and free together. At the adoption of the Constitution, there were but five States which were practically slave States. There are now fifteen. In 1787, all the national territory was made free. In 1820, half of it was left open to slavery. In 1854, the whole was opened to slavery. The experience of the last few years, and especially the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, has convinced the most doubting that slavery is aggressive—that the Slave Power, if not repressed, will advance—that if slavery is not prohibited, it will prohibit freedom. The Slave Power controls every department of the Government. The question is not the Abolition of Slavery, but the existence of Freedom—not whether slavery shall be tolerated in the Territories, but whether there shall be a foothold for freedom. Either slavery or freedom must be dominant in this republic. The republic itself must be either a Free Power or a Slave Power, in the family of nations.

Second. It is a political question. It is no longer a question of mere ethics, or of political abstraction. It is a contest which must be fought at the polls. Slavery is to be repelled, and freedom made national, by putting into executive office men who will be faithful to freedom. We must send to Congress men who are faithful to freedom. We must fill the vacancies in the Judiciary with men who will be faithful to freedom. Not only so, but such a preponderance of political power must be established that they may be kept faithful. Legislation for freedom is required in the State as well as in the National Governments. These ends can be secured only by political means, by united action of men who think and feel alike; in short, by the regular republican method of a political party.

Third. The ends are practicable. The Free States have the vast preponderance in numbers, education, arts, sciences, manufactures, commerce, wealth, and business. Why should their millions stand in the relation of political thraldom to an oligarchy of less than half a million of men who wield the power of slavery? It is not fit that we bear the shame longer.

Fourth. The state of other political questions is favourable to this movement. The Whig party, formed on the idea of resistance to the increase of Executive power, adopting from time to time positions on the financial questions of the day, questions which are now settled or passed by, can no longer be said to exist as a political power in the nation. No hope can be entertained, at present, that the Democratic party will be faithful on this issue, or that faithful men can act effectually through it, in our cause. The questions of social reform, the problem of restrictive legislation in aid of temperance, and the question of foreign and native influence in the affairs of the nation, are felt, even by the greater part of those most interested in them, to present no just obstacle to united action here. Everywhere are indications of an uprising of the heart and mind of the nation, to meet this paramount issue, an issue into which the Presidential election of the next year will sweep every other.

Fifth. We offer no geographical or sectional issue. We adopt no principles which have not the sanction of the founders of the Republic, in all the States, North and South, free or slave. We adopt no principles which Washington, Jefferson, and Patrick Henry, would not have gloried to see brought into action. We adopt no principles which conscientious opponents of the increase of slavery, from all parts of the land, cannot and ought not to recognise. We act in no sectional spirit as to men. We are ready to vote for men from any part of the land who will act with us. We know that within the area of the slave States themselves are free men, not slaveholders, who sympathize with us. We know there are slaveholders who think as we do—to say nothing of three millions of slaves themselves. As to the Territories and the new States, we know no geographical limits. We desire to see all free, North and South. Secure free States at the South-West, and this will no longer be a geographical issue. Had our ancestors been true in 1820, there would have been free States at the South. Had we been true in 1845, there would have been free States at the South. There may yet be free States at the South if we are true hereafter. The Missouri Compromise made freedom and slavery geographical distinctions. That is now repealed. We accept the issue which that repeal forces upon us—slavery or freedom everywhere. Henceforth we recognise no geographical line. Our motto is, No North, no South, freedom for all the Territories—No new States but Free States, North or South.

We conceive our duty to be done if we adopt principles and measures which are not in their nature sectional, but eminently national, and carry them out with a spirit national and liberal. If, on those premises, a sectional contest arises, the fault is not ours. The world knows that we have avoided a sectional issue, to the verge, and beyond the verge, of dignity and prudence. If it comes, it is forced upon us. Let us avoid it and postpone it no longer. Delays and compromises have brought it upon us. Delays and compromises will fix it, irretrievably.

It only now remains to declare that we attempt no requirement of uniformity of opinion on other questions. No man, by joining in this organization, does, even by implication, qualify his opinions on other subjects of State or national concern. He merely recognises the paramount importance of this. The party, if it has a history, must meet the great political questions of the day as they arise, but always in subordination to the question of Freedom. It is only in the spirit of concession and tolerance on other subjects that we can be united on this. In the dissensions of the free is the hope ever of despotism. Let us take heed that we lose not the cause of freedom here, as it has been lost the world over, in all time, by unworthiness to enjoy its blessings, and inability to unite in its defence.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the increase and advance of slavery, the additions to the number of slave States, the successive triumphs of slavery in the political contests of the last half century, the control of slavery over all departments of the Government, the experience of the last few years in the legislative, executive and judicial departments, and more especially the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, have made slavery, in its national relations and in its relations to the free States, the paramount practical question in the politics of the country.

Resolved, That slavery as a State institution is not within our power or responsibility; but slavery in its relations to the nation is the concern of every man in the nation; in its relations to the free States, is the concern of every man in the free States.

Resolved, That Massachusetts, the earliest battle-ground of freedom, gives her heart and hand to Kansas, the latest battle-ground of freedom.

Resolved, That the repeal of the Missouri Compromise makes every inch of the national domain a battle-ground between freedom and slavery. It makes the admission of every new State a conflict between freedom and slavery. The issue thus forced upon us, we accept. It shall be by no fault of ours if another slave State is added to the Union, or any of its Territories left open to the possibility of slavery.

Resolved, That we tender no geographical or sectional issue; nor will we be deterred from our duty by the fear of one. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise has erased the geographical line. Our principles are national and general. Our spirit is national and liberal. We seek sympathy and coöperation from all parts of the land; we look for members and candidates from South and North, East and West. Our principles do not justly lead to a sectional issue. If the Slave Power raises one, the fault is theirs; let the victory be ours.

Resolved, That we require no conformity of opinion on other subjects of national or State policy. No man surrendering or qualifying his opinions on those subjects, we all recognise the duty of making the question of freedom paramount. To secure unity of action here, we attempt no unity of opinion elsewhere.

Resolved, That we accept the name of the REPUBLICAN PARTY, which has been adopted by our friends and fellow-labourers in other States. We unite in that party to assert the great principles for which we contend, and to carry them to a triumphant issue.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION.

[These resolutions were adopted unanimously by both the Whig and Republican State Conventions, which afterwards signalized their union as one party by coming together in the same hall and ratifying the nominations to which each had previously agreed.]

Resolved, That the Federal Government being one of defined and limited powers, among which the power to enslave human beings is not found, we most earnestly deny its right to establish, uphold or tolerate slavery in any portion of the public domain, or to connive at its establishment in the federal territory by any means whatever.

Resolved, That since there can be no legal slavery in the Territories of our Union, there can be no slave States legally formed out of such Territories, and we declare ourselves unalterably opposed to the formation there of any more slave States, and in favour of an express prohibition by Congress of slavery in all territory of the Union.

Resolved, That the repudiation in the interest and by the vote of the Slave Power of so much of the Missouri compact as inures to the advantage of freedom, after it had yielded all possible advantages to slavery, admonishes us of the inefficiency of any compact to restrain that spirit of aggression and rapacity inherent in a system which robs a man of his liberty, earth of its fertility, and labour of its rightful reward.

Resolved, That the Federal Administration, by its uniform policy, but especially by the removal of Gov. Reeder and the appointment in his stead of one who recognises the elect of the Missouri invaders as a true Legislature for Kansas, and demands that the tyrannical usurpations of that body shall be obeyed as the laws of that Territory, fully identified itself with the effort to plant slavery thereon, and renders impossible the further support of the Executive by men who desire that Kansas shall now be a free Territory, and in due time a free State.

Resolved, That those citizens of free States who have migrated to Kansas with the purpose of making her free have, in so doing, violated no law and assailed no right; that their peaceful yet resolute bearing, in view of the outrages to which they have been subjected by armed bands precipitated upon them from Missouri, commends them to our warmest admiration, and we pledge them our zealous and active support until these invaders shall be defeated, and their rights fully secured.

Resolved, That the outrages committed in a sister State, under colour of judicial authority, on a citizen guilty of no crime but humanity and truth, admonish us that slavery is everywhere at war with justice and interest in binding all things to its will; wherefore we exhort our fellow-citizens, as they value their own rights and liberties, not to intrust with power judicial or other men who uphold and sympathize with the oppressors of Passmore Williamson.

Resolved, That secret political organizations are inconsistent with the liberal principles of our free Government, and Anti-Republican in their character, and that we repudiate and condemn the proscriptive and Anti-Republican doctrines of the order of Know-Nothings, and all their secret Constitutions, oaths, rituals, and organizations.

Resolved, That while the policy of Canal Enlargement is settled by the change of the State Constitution authorizing the increase of the State Debt to the amount of nine millions of dollars for that purpose, the Republican party will insist upon the honest and faithful application of these funds to the purpose for which they are appropriated. That in the management of the State Finances, we will require a rigid system of accountability and the strictest economy in all expenditures from the public Treasury.

Resolved, That, the policy of repairing our completed, public works in sections, by contract, to be awarded to the lowest responsible bidders, enlisting, as it does, a strong pecuniary interest in preventing breaks, or stopping them at the outset, commends itself to our judgment as conducive alike to economy in expenditure and regularity of navigation, and we commend its adoption in the management of our Canals.

Resolved, That in forming a new political organization we adopt and reaffirm, as our own, the principles set forth as those of the Republicans of 1800 in the inaugural of Thomas Jefferson, as follows: "Equal and exact justice to all men; the support of the State Governments in all their rights as the most competent administrators for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwark against Anti-Republican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigour; a jealous care of the right of Election by the people; a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority—the vital principle of Republics, from which there is no appeal but to face the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; economy in the public expenditures, that labour may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public opinion; freedom of religion; freedom of the Press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation—the wisdom of our sages, and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment—they shall be the creed of our political faith—the text of civic transactions, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety."

COERCING THE NORTH.

PLODDING men at the North, whose business occupations absorb nearly all their time, except that which they devote to the acquisition of knowledge, and to the performance of their religious duties, live in happy ignorance of the constant agitation among their Southern brethren of the subject of disunion, and the best means of accomplishing that great object of political ambition, with too many of the leading spirits of the South. As Southern newspapers are not much read at the North, the people of the Free States can have but a faint idea of the extent to which the anti-Northern feeling is cultivated South of the Potomac. If any Northern editor should seriously propose a scheme for the dissolution of the Union, and recommend any measures as a retaliation upon the South for an imaginary wrong, he would be at once hooted out of society, and consigned to a political purgatory by the united voice of the people. But we can hardly open a Southern paper in which we do not find some grave proposition for dissolving the Union, and crushing the North, either by non-intercourse, by putting a tax on Northern productions, or by putting any man into Coventry who shall have dealings with the free States. Such vapourings have become so common that, to those who are accustomed to them, they have long ceased even to excite mirth, much less any serious apprehensions of difficulty. It is a way they have at the South, though we should, in strictness, say in Virginia and South Carolina, for the disunion spirit is manifested more virulently in these States than in any other.

The Richmond *Enquirer* of Saturday contained a new proposition for "coercing the North," which is entitled to notice for the moderation of its

into comfortable, pleasant homesteads, by sturdy, patient, slowly-rewarded labour—and that these characteristics, so palpable to the swarms of influential slaveholders who throng our watering-places and great hotels in Summer, tend to confirm these in their notion that negroes need white masters to render them good for anything—we think Mr. Fee will be bound to admit the facts. And we think, too, that such men as our correspondent should join us in candidly admitting that they *are* facts, and should use his influence with his compatriots in favour of the needed change in their pursuits and tendencies, instead of prosecuting this controversy. We only urge the Blacks to choose that manner of warfare against the injustice and oppression from which they have so long suffered which seems to us best calculated to effect their enfranchisement: we would have them stop holding conventions and betake themselves to buying or making and working farms, because we deem that the shortest and surest way to the end they seek. It is our deliberate judgment that, until they improve their own social position by manly, independent labour, they will either fail to win their political enfranchisement—no matter how many conventions and mass meetings they may hold—or it will prove of little or no practical benefit. Let Time test the soundness of this conviction.

NEGRO-CATCHING.

From the Indianapolis (Ia.) Journal.

THE notice, in the *Journal* of Monday, of the agency of one of the conductors of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad in the return of some fugitive slaves, may induce a desire among our readers to know more of the particulars of the case. The Madison *Courier* gave the following account of it:

"On Friday two fugitive slaves were arrested in the passenger train on the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, near Dupont, by John Mancourt, Esq., and William Monroe, Esq. The first holds the responsible position of Conductor of the train; the latter is Adams & Co.'s Express Agent. The fugitives had been hunted with dogs on the other side of the river; these, after a desperate fight, they killed with their knives. After reaching Indiana—the Free State of Indiana, which we teach our children in the Sunday Schools, and in the common schools, is the home of the oppressed, where the benefit of the laws and institutions are offered to men of every clime (see the resolutions of the National Democrats, in convention, Aug. 29th)—they were arrested, but without the aid of the bloodhounds—by men in the employment of the Railroad Company, anxious to make money and to obtain a respectable position in the old line, national, pro-whiskey, slave-catching Democratic party.

"The fugitives wandered out from Sunday night until Friday without provisions. Worn-out, ragged, foot-sore, having had nothing to eat but what the orchards and forest trees provided, they despaired of escape and hailed the cars, were taken to Vernon to the United States Commissioner, remanded to slavery upon their own admission of being fugitives from labour, brought to this city on the return of the train, and before sundown were SAFE on the shores of our sister State, Kentucky.

"We have no comments to make. The case stands as plainly marked, as horribly cruel, as disreputable, as it is possible to paint it. The recital of the escape from the bloodhounds of Kentucky, the capture by *respectable* men in Indiana, is sufficient for the purposes of humanity.

"It is to be seen whether Dr. Ellis, W. N. Jackson, J. O. D. Lilly, Wm. McKee Dunn, and the other managers of the road, are willing to have it converted into a vast slave-catching machine, reaching from the Ohio to the heart of the State."

The Vernon *Banner* adds:

"By the above it will be seen who arrested the negroes that were remanded from this place on last Friday. We would just say, in addition to the above, that there was a '*respectable*' *young* gentleman, we believe, who is an attache of the Post-Office, by the name of R. K. Reed, who was chivalrous enough to assist the two railroad gentlemen in finally securing the negroes. He was seen hugging them from the cars down town, and tried to get them lodged in the county prison, but Sheriff Huckleberry gave him to understand that he was going to take no part in their dirty work, and they were compelled to find private rooms. It is *said* they were remanded upon their own admission of being fugitives; how true this is we don't know. We tried to get into the Commissioner's Court, to hear what the negroes had to say, but we were not able even to learn where the Court was, or where the negroes were; and as yet we have not been able to see any one who was there or knows anything about it. If this is the manner that fugitives are tried—by "star-chamber" courts—we say out upon them. Let the people frown down Commissioners, Marshals, and all that have had a hand in such sneaking, dirty work."

From the same.

The *Sentinel*, in an editorial this day, charges the Managers of the Madison Railroad with proscription in dispensing with the services of Mr. John Mancourt as conductor on said road, and states that Mr. M. returned the fugitive slaves by their earnest request, which is an error, to say the least; the fact being, that Mr. M. addressed the poor fugitives in a manner calculated to gain their confidence, and in answer to their confession that they were fugitives, and to their request for bread, he, M., gave them not "a stone," but a sure passage back to bondage.

The M. & I. R. R. is a public institution, not an "Old Line," "slave-catching" institution, as the *Sentinel* would have it.

The President and Directors of said Company aim to afford to all men, without respect to colour or political sentiment, the facilities and benefits of said thoroughfare; hence, when a conductor or any other employé abandons his post under any pretence, his place is necessarily considered vacant. Mr. Mancourt enjoyed the respect of his employers, and he resigned his position. How the *Sentinel* makes out a case of proscription I leave disinterested observers to judge. W. H. T.

COMMON SENSE.

THE Memphis (Tenn.) *Eagle*, in commenting upon a recent article in the *Times*, in which we showed that Disunion, for which pro-slavery champions are labouring, would be the death-knell of slavery, says:

"Let the South read and ponder on these outgivings well. May it not be that the North is endeavouring to aggravate the South to the point of secession, as the initial step towards the ultimate consummation of the abolition of Southern slavery in the way here plainly indicated? And may it not be, after all, the true policy of the South *to stand by the Federal Constitution and laws* as prescribed in the American Platform? Certain we are, that if the whole South and the Conservative, Constitutional men of the North will place themselves upon that platform, there will then be no danger to be apprehended for the rights of the South—no danger of disunion. The extreme doctrine of State Rights must, ere long, become distasteful to every true Southerner. *Fifteen years from this the only advocates of these doctrines must be looked for North of Mason and Dixon's line.*"

This is sensible—and our only wonder is, that Southern men should be so slow to see it. The ultra Abolitionists who urge Disunion are rational and consistent in pursuit of their object. They know that the Constitution and the Union are the bulwarks of slavery, and that the institution could not survive their destruction. The fool-hardiness of the Southern advocates of slavery, who play into their hands by urging the same policy—Disunion—seems very much like that judicial blindness which precedes destruction.

We have frequently predicted that the South would ultimately abandon the State Rights theory, so ably taught by Calhoun, and espouse the *centralizing* theory of nationalism, as affording them their only protection. Events indicate this tendency unmistakably. The loudest advocates of the supremacy of the Constitution and of Federal law are now to be found at the South; and the strongest asserters of State Rights—the boldest nullifiers—are found, not in South Carolina, but in Massachusetts! If Hayne and Webster could reappear on the public stage ten years hence, they would change places.—*N. Y. Times.*

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW ACKNOWLEDGED.

From The Charleston Mercury.

OF the action of Massachusetts in abrogation of the Fugitive Slave law we have no complaint to make It was from the first a miserable illusion; and worse, in fact, for it was *an infringement upon one of the most cherished principles of the Constitution*, which provides that fugitives from labour, "upon demand, shall be delivered up," but gives no power to Congress to act in this affair. The tenth amendment to the Constitution provides that "the powers not delegated to the United States are reserved to the States or to the people." The clause above confers no power, but is the naked declaration of a right, and the power, not being conferred, results to the States as one of the incidents of sovereignty too dear to be trusted to the General Government. Our Southern members strove for the passage of the law, and strove honestly; but it shows the evils of our unfortunate condition, that, in the urgency of our contest with an aggressive adversary, we lose the landmarks of principle—to obtain an illusive triumph, *we pressed the Government to assume a power not conferred by the instrument of its creation*, and to establish a precedent by which, in all after time, it will be authorized to assume whatever right may have no constitional organ of enforcement; and wearied with so many efforts to confine the Government to the limits of its legitimate powers, we are pleased to have assistance from another quarter, and if the question shall be determined in her favour, we will sincerely rejoice in such a vindication of the Constitution.

AN INQUIRY FOR CITIZEN SANDERS.—*To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.*—SIR: Since Mr. Geo. N. Sanders advocates the application of a steam guillotine to the necks of the European sustainers of tyranny, slavery and corruption, would it not be pertinent to ask whether he is disposed to apply the same remedy to American nigger-drivers and supporters of our tyranny, slavery and corruption? A RED OF '48 AND '55.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1855.

☞ ANDREW T. FOSS commences, to-day, a series of meetings in Chester Co., Pa., beginning with a Convention at Eastland Hall, which opens this morning at 10 o'clock, and which will continue through the day and, by adjournment, through to-morrow afternoon. J. M. McKim, Lucretia Mott and Thomas Whitson, will be among the speakers on the occasion.

Persons desiring the services of Mr. Foss in any part of Eastern Pennsylvania, are requested to communicate on the subject immediately with J. M. McKim, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, at 31 North 5th st., Philadelphia.

SLAVERY AND THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

[SECOND LETTER.]

To the REV. J. C. BRIGHAM, D.D., *Senior Secretary of the American Bible Society.*

REVEREND SIR: Three months have passed since the attention of the Society was called to the publication of Mr. Fair's address in the *Bible Society Record*, and its *imprimatur* by you as "excellent." If, instead of a Scriptural vindication of American slavery, you had inserted in the *Record* an essay for or against Infant Baptism, the Divinity of Christ, or any other controverted doctrine, so palpable a violation of the pledged neutrality of the Society would have excited general indignation, and the Board would have hastened to disavow and censure your conduct. But it seems to be the determined policy of your Managers neither to defend nor excuse any action they or their officers may take in behalf of slavery. A defence would outrage the North; an apology would offend the South. The wisdom of such a policy is not from above. A frank acknowledgment of error, with a promise not to repeat it, is a course more in accordance with the precepts of the book you circulate than a sullen, contemptuous silence.

My last letter was too brief to permit me to notice, in detail, your statement of the approval of Mr. Fair's proposal by the Southern "Christian community"; or the circumstances which rendered the honours bestowed on Messrs. Spring and Prime peculiarly offensive to large numbers of your members.

Your letter, in the April *Record* tells us: "I find the EXCELLENT address reecently delivered in South Carolina on this subject, and reprinted in part in our February *Record*, has been widely read, and, so far as I have learned, *meets the approval of the Christian community.*" That is, the startling and novel proposition to repeal the laws prohibiting the teaching of slaves, in order that they may be rendered more contented and submissive by reading for themselves such a pro-slavery book as the Bible, and finding there that their bondage is required and sanctioned by God himself, is, as far as you have learned, approved by the slaveholders who profess to be Christians. You derived your information from the planters, whose hospitality you enjoyed, and who, finding you well disposed towards them, resolved to make use of you. A few years since, a Rev. Mr. Jones, and certain Southern Synods, made some very indiscreet disclosures respecting "A NATION OF HEATHEN IN OUR VERY MIDST." The revelations were ample, and were effectively used by the Abolitionists. Hence vast pains are *now* taken to prove that the slaves are very pious, and their masters very solicitous about their salvation. Your Florida friends persuade you that they desire to put the Spelling-book and the Bible into the hands of their slaves! As soon would they present them with revolvers and bowie-knives. Now listen, Sir, to what Southern Christians say on this subject, not to a *Northern guest*, who will go home and proclaim that they are anxious to educate their bondmen, and thus give the lie to the Abolitionists, but *among themselves.*

The *Southern Presbyterian* takes Mr. Fair severely to task for his absurd proposal to repeal the laws making it penal to teach the slaves to read: "We insist that the laws in question are *imperiously demanded* by a regard to the public safety. Is there any great moral reason why we should incur the tremendous risk of having our *wives and children slaughtered in consequence of our slaves being taught to read incendiary publications?*" Such is the language of a Southern religious newspaper, addressing *Southern Presbyterians.* But Mr. Fair wants the slaves to read the Bible, that they may learn the Divine right of their masters over them. To this the editor replies, "He seems to be uninformed of the fact that the Scriptures are read in our churches every Sabbath day, and those very passages which inculcate the relative duties of masters and servants, in consequence of their textual connection, *are more frequently read than other portions of the Bible.*"

Thus, Sir, you perceive that one of the organs of the Southern "Christian community" thinks Mr. Fair's advice would lead to the slaughter of wives and children. Is it not singular, Sir, that a *Divine institution*, if accompanied with ability to read the Bible, should be attended with such disastrous results? It must, however, be a consolation to Mr. Fair to know that if masters will only make their slaves attend church, they will *very frequently* hear the precepts, "Servants, be obedient to your masters"; "Servants, obey in all things your masters," &c. Said *The Daily Appeal* (Memphis, Tenn.), "It is a truth, which no one can deny, that an enlightened man cannot be a *contented* slave. Educate the slave—teach but a few to read, or, as some advocates of the system might say, *to read the Bible*—and you have already laid the train for the most momentous consequences." Be assured, Sir, Mr. Fair will find few advocates, whether among infidel or Christian slaveholders, of his much abused plan of strengthening slavery by teaching slaves to *read* the Bible. Most truly declares the *Charleston Mercury*, published in Mr. Fair's own State, "It needed no very great scope of argument to satisfy those who framed our laws that the EXPANSION OF INTELLECT, the hundred influences which education generates, would be very inconsistent with the habit of OBEDIENCE which was the *corner-stone* of the institution."

You seem not to know, Sir, that the slaveholders, in answer to the complaints of the Abolitionists respecting the heathenism of the slaves, founded on the former confessions of Southern ministers, are *now* showing that ignorance is the mother of devotion, and the house of bondage the very gate of heaven. Says the *Southern Presbyterian*, in proof that slaves have no need of the Bible, "We say it without fear of successful contradiction, that there are more pious persons among the blacks than among any similar class *in the world.*" That is, the slaves are more pious than the labouring class in the free States, or elsewhere. Nor is this mere empty assertion. Statistics are at hand to verify the fact. "The nation of heathen" has suddenly disappeared, and, especially in Mr. Fair's own State, the unlettered slaves are evidently nearer to the kingdom than their masters, with all their Bibles, religious tracts and other aids to devotion. In February last, the Episcopal Convention of South Carolina convened. The newspapers gave us the Bishop's address, and a summary of the parochial reports for the preceding year. The Bishop congratulated the Convention on the increase of piety among, not the white, but the *black* sheep of his flock, and sneers at "the foreigners," persons not belonging to the nation of South Carolina, "who give the slave the cheap and easy tribute of empty declamation." Certainly the Bishop's exultation ought to have been tempered with pity and grief for the fate of the more favoured portions of his flock, who, as we shall see, are so shamefully outstripped by the slaves in the heavenly race.

Perhaps the most striking public demonstration which a convert can give of his determination to lead a new and holy life is his seeking admission into the church by baptism. In twelve months, *nineteen* white adults, and in the same time THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOUR black adults, were baptised!! But it may be suggested that *infant* baptism is neglected among the slaves, and this accounts for so many adults coming to the ordinance. The record proves the suggestion unjust to the slave mothers, whose maternal solicitude for the spiritual welfare of their offspring even surpasses that of their white sisters. Of the *infants* baptized, 668 were black, and 346 white, about two to one! In the Episcopal Church, there is a rite called confirmation, and which ordinarily precedes admission to the Lord's table. This rite is administered to young persons, when found, on examination, to be sound in the faith, and desirous of living Christian lives. They make a public profession of their faith, and vow "to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of their lives." Two hundred and thirty-six whites, and FIVE HUNDRED AND TWENTY blacks, thus dedicated themselves to the service of their Maker. Surely, surely, Sir, there is no reason why the "Christian community" should expose their wives and children to be slaughtered, merely that the slaves may read the Bible, when they are already so much more godly than those who possess it. Why teach people to read the Bible who are converted at the word of the master, and fulfil all righteousness on a signal from the overseer?

The Bible Society is the distributor, not the interpreter, of the Bible; hence it has no authority to pronounce slavery sinful, except *so far as it denies access to the Scriptures.* Its officers and auxiliaries belong, indiscriminately, to the free and slave States. Nor can any just exception be taken to this course. Your publication and endorsement of Mr. Fair's address was a gross and palpable violation of this neutrality on the slave question. But it is, unhappily, not the only violation that has occurred. When a man has made himself peculiarly obnoxious to one party or the other, not by the opinions he entertains, but by the unseemly expression of those opinions, and by conduct which has justly given wide and strong displeasure, then the gratuitous and unnecessary elevation of such a man to a complimentary position in the Society has the appearance of an endorsement of his conduct by the Society as proper and Christian, and of entire indifference to the feelings of such of their members as it is well known cannot but be seriously displeased.

These considerations were wholly disregarded, when it was deemed expedient to confer honorary distinctions on two Reverend gentlemen who had undoubtedly given more grief and disgust to a large portion both of the members of the Society and of the religious community at the North than any other two clergymen whatever in the State of New York. The Rev. Gardiner Spring was selected to open the annual meeting with prayer, and also to dedicate by prayer the new Bible-House. He had, during the excitement in 1850 respecting the various concessions to the Slave Power, made himself conspicuous by his ultra pro-slavery feelings. He had publicly announced that could he emancipate the slaves by a prayer, he would not offer it; and he rejoiced that one of the effects of the Fugitive law would be to drive the fugitives out of the City of New York. When the New York Union-saving, Slave-catching Committee thought fit to make a pro-slavery demonstration on Washington's birth-day, 1851, they selected Henry S. Foote, United States Senator from Mississippi, as the orator of the day. The motive which induced the selection was, no doubt, that this man was a specimen of the worst class of slaveholders—an insolent, vulgar bully—a duellist—a man who, on the floor of Congress, had grossly insulted the anti-slavery Senators, and declared his intention to assist in hanging one of them, should he dare to set his foot on the soil of Mississippi. The honour paid to this man would certainly convince the South that the commercial metropolis, and especially the members of the committee, merited its political and mercantile favour. It was, moreover, thought expedient that the Northern pulpit should be represented on the occasion, and Mr. Spring was chosen to act as chaplain; and the oration of the Mississippi duellist and amateur hangman was introduced by a prayer from the Divine who had declared he would not pray for the liberation of the slave! A feast followed, of which the orator and the chaplain partook together; and the fact was announced in the public journals. There were, Sir, hundreds of clergymen in the city, any one of whom might have been asked to lead the Society in prayer, without wounding the feelings of a single individual, North or South. Was it, Sir, either wise or decent, nay, to pass by all these gentlemen, for the purpose of bestowing marks of honour and confidence on the chaplain of the pro-slavery Committee?

In the appointment of Mr. Prime, the Editor of the *New York Observer*, to represent the National Bible Society and its auxiliaries at the Anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, another reckless and gratuitous insult was offered to the feelings of a very large number of Northern Christians, and of not a few of the members of the Society and its affiliated associations. Three gentlemen, wholly unexceptionable to all parties, and in every respect proper representatives, had already been appointed delegates. Suddenly the public was surprised, and, to a great extent, shocked, at learning that a fourth delegate had been chosen in the person of the Editor of the *New York Observer.* This editor had long made his weekly sheet a virulent and malignant organ of Cotton Divinity. He had recently acquired an unenviable notoriety by his coarse invectives against Mrs. Stowe and her celebrated book. A silly clergyman made a ridiculous charge against Mrs. Stowe of libelling him, and threatened a prosecution for damages. The *Observer* zealously espoused his cause, and informed the public that, "Finding that no sense of justice could be reached in the lady author, Dr. Parker employed most eminent legal counsel, and, with good advice, resolved to commence an action of libel against Mrs. Stowe, laying damages at $20,000. $20,000 would make a sad hole in the profits of that book of fiction." He even condescended to insert in his columns some scurrilous lines addressed to the lady, beginning—

"Go claim the meed of praise
From Europe's servile throngs,
And high thy fame and fortune raise,
Built on thy country's wrongs," &c.

Mr. Prime declared, in an editorial: "We have read the book and regard it as 'anti-Christian,' on the same grounds that the *Chronicle* regards it 'decidedly anti-ministerial.' We have marked numerous passages in which religion is spoken of in terms of contempt. Mrs. Stowe labours through all the book to render ministers odious and contemptible by attributing to them sentiments unworthy of men or Christians." In a letter addressed by him, in his own columns, to Mrs. Stowe, he tells her—"When your 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was first published, we examined it, and, to our deep regret, we found that the poison of the new Abolition school had been insidiously sown into it, and that it was a book to *do harm to religion* and the slave." We are not aware of more than one individual in Europe who concurred with the *Observer* in regarding the book as one to do harm to religion. The newspapers announced that the Pope had forbidden the reading of "Uncle Tom" in the Papal States. The Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow, well known here for his theological writings, thus unintentionally, in a public speech, drew the character of your delegate: "The man who has read that little volume without the meltings of pity, the thrillings of horror, and the kindlings of indignation, would supply a far better argument for a distinct race than the negro. He must have a humanity peculiarly his own. And he who can read it without the breathings of devotion must, if he calls himself a Christian, have a Christianity as unique and questionable as his humanity."

Mr. Prime's assaults on Mrs. Stowe and her book excited deep and wide-spread disgust. One of our devoted missionaries in Persia, Rev. Mr. Perkins, wrote to a New York religious periodical—"I have just fallen upon one thing in our papers over which I cannot keep silence, and I beg a very humble place in your paper to express my astonishment and grief. When I read in one of the oldest religious papers in our country, a paper that has so long been my favourite, that 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' is '*unchristian*,' I feel like uttering the Roman orator's exclamation, '*O tempora, O mores!*' 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' I must be allowed to bear my testimony, however late and gratuitous, is, in my view, *one of the most Christian* as well as one of the most interesting and timely of human productions." Another of our foreign missionaries, born and educated in a slave State, thus wrote: "From what I know of the South, and of the course pursued by the *New York Observer*, if the anti-slavery influence were only such as comes from that paper, the slave will clank his chains until the Millennium." The Rev. Dr. Nelson, the well-known author of a work on Infidelity, himself a Southern man, long since declared—"Of all Northern periodicals, the *New York Observer* must have the preference as an efficient support of slavery. I am not sure but it does more than all other things combined to keep the dreadful system alive."

Let us now see how this champion of human bondage, this reviler of Mrs. Stowe, although honoured with a certificate of respect and confidence from the American Bible Society, was received by British Christians. A London morning paper, referring to his mission, declared—"It was a great insult to the liberty-loving people of this country, and *especially to the members of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, to send a man who has the dishonour of being a pro-slavery advocate among us, as one whom we were expected to receive with cordiality and treat with respect." And the paper thus explains the non-appearance of your delegate on the platform, at the British anniversary: "The fact is, that on this gentleman's presenting himself, he was privately informed that the state of public feeling with respect to pro-slavery ministers generally, and to himself especially, as the vilifier of Mrs. Stowe and her wonderful book, was such that he had better not place the Society in the dilemma of either refusing to receive him or, if they did, of risking the displeasure of the public." Your delegate did not grace the meeting, but Mrs. Stowe did, and an audience of 6,000 persons greeted her entrance, as stated by the papers, "with repeated rounds of the most enthusiastic applause." Strange reception to be given by a Christian assembly to an anti-Christian author! But Mr. Prime, in a letter written soon after and published in the *Observer*, June 30, 1853, informs the public, "I have not found the best men among those who are on the platform, denouncing my country and glorifying a woman who has made herself notorious by a world-wide libel on the mother who bore her"!!! Sorely was Mr. Prime troubled by the glorification of the woman and the humiliation of the delegate. He became a prophet of evil. In one of his public letters he informs us that he told a British Admiral he thought there was danger of war between the two countries. "He asked for the reasons that justified such a sentiment. I told him that the rancour and contempt with which American principles and institutions are treated in this country are irritating the American people; and the work of alienation is hastened every day. Did you know, Sir, I inquired, that the President of the United States was hissed by four thousand British Christians in Exeter Hall last night?" The American principles and institutions alluded to are, of course, cotton theology, and slave-breeding, slave-trading and slave-catching; and the rancour and contempt felt for them was manifested in the treatment experienced by their representatives and advocates, the President of the United States AND the Editor of the *New York Observer.*

A speaker at an anti-slavery meeting stated that the President had gratuitously and specially pledged himself to enforce the execrable Fugitive law, and the statement was received with a hiss. God bless these "four thousand British Christians" for their honest indignation at a vile bid for the support of the slaveholders. They did but respond to the feelings of hundreds of thousands of their American brethren. Mr. Prime may calm his nerves. The peace between the two countries will not be endangered by hisses bestowed on Franklin Pierce; nor even by the exclusion of the Editor of the *New York Observer* from the platform of the British Bible Society. The mission of your delegate was not wholly barren. He made a most gratifying discovery, which he hastened to announce in the *Observer*, viz., the existence of English slavery. He tells us that, seeing some white women working in the field, he exclaimed to his companion, "There you see the *white slaves* of England." An Englishman replied: "'Aye, but they are free.' Free to do what? I asked him. 'Free to do as they like, to stop working if they choose.' And what then? I proceeded—they must do that or starve." Hence a man in the water, who must either swim or drown, is a slave! All who are not rich enough to live without manual labour are vendible commodities, with no more personal rights or family relations than the beasts of the field. Certainly your delegate illustrates the aphorism,

"'Tis the easiest matter in one sense
To write very palpable nonsense."

It is now time to remind you how this reckless and offensive appointment was regarded at home. If it was a great insult to "the liberty-loving people of England," much more was it an insult to the liberty-loving people of the North, who had been for a long time habitually abused and misrepresented in the columns of the *Observer.* Passing by the strictures of the religious press, not enlisted in the service of the slaveholders, let me call your attention to the protest of one of your efficient auxiliaries—a protest which found a response, not loud, but deep, in the feelings of, probably, every auxiliary in the free States, not immediately controlled by mercantile influence. The Adams County Society, Ohio, placed on their minutes the following, viz.:

"Whereas, the Managers of the American Bible Society have sent the Editor of the *New York Observer* to represent the Bible cause in this country on the platform of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and whereas, the said editor is well known to be extremely pro-slavery; and whereas, American slavery, which he favours, disregards the universally conceded truth, that the Bible is designed for man, and for the redemption of all men; and whereas, the Managers chose this editor, with his well-known views upon this subject, and thereby gave room for men to suspect their sincerity in the Bible cause; therefore,

"Resolved, That we seriously disapprove of the conduct of the Managers in sending this man, and would respectfully ask that there be not a recurrence of this kind in future."

A copy of the foregoing was officially sent to the Board of Managers, but elicited no apology, no promise of greater discrimination in future. Not long since, the Congregational Association of Des Moines, Iowa, "Resolved, That the known conservative, pro-slavery character of the *New York Observer* is reason sufficient why every Christian should rebuke it; and, while we appreciate the intended kindness of those friends who have furnished it to us gratuitously, we feel it our duty to refuse longer to receive it, *even as a gratuity*, for the reason set forth in this resolution."

It may be thought I have bestowed more attention to Mr. Prime, his sayings and doings, than they merit. Whatever may be his claims on the notice of the public, as a man and a minister, I refer to him only as the Editor of a professedly religious journal, apparently enjoying the approbation of the American Bible Society, and recommended by its Managers to the civilities, kindness and confidence of the religious community of Great Britain. It cannot be denied that, in this capacity, his conduct as a gentleman and his principles as a Christian invite discussion, and especially from all who are concerned for the fair fame and continued usefulness of the American Bible Society.

Your Society is founded on what your Adams County auxiliary well calls, the "universally conceded truth that the Bible was made for man." All your reports, and all the reports of all other Bible Societies, respond to the sentiment uttered by the Rev. Dr. Tyng on your platform, and printed in your 30th Report, p. 102: "I hold that each individual soul has the unqualified right to read and interpret and apply the Bible for himself." I have already said that your Society has no authority to pronounce slavery sinful, *except so far as it denies access to the Scriptures.* The reason of the exception is obvious. The denial of the Scriptures to slaves, or any other class of human beings, militates against the very end and being of Bible Societies. Hence Bible Societies and their orators have never scrupled to denounce the Church of Rome for withholding the Scriptures from her people. You have no authority to pronounce on the worship of the Virgin Mary, or even the virtues of Holy Water, but you have full authority to declare that Roman Catholics have a God-given right to read and study the volume of revelation. Scarcely is a Bible Society meeting held in any part of our country, at which censures are not passed on the Church of Rome for her hostility to the free use of the Scriptures. Well, Sir, we have more than THREE MILLIONS of our fellow-countrymen who are by law debarred from reading the Bible, and what protest, Sir, does the American Bible Society and its hundreds of affiliated Societies offer to this atrocious soul-murdering despotism? The silence of the tomb broods over the subject in every Bible Society in the land. In your voluminous thirty-nine Reports, and in the multiplicity of addresses delivered on your platform for the last forty years, I am not aware, nor do I believe that a single murmur has been whispered, that millions of Americans are legally deprived of the ability to read the book of God. When Dr. Tyng uttered and the Society printed the averment, that every individual soul has the unqualified right to read the Bible, the idea that this expression included millions of *slaves* did not probably enter his own mind, or the minds of those who heard or read his words. Roman Catholics, not slaveholders, were the wicked violaters of this "unqualified right," and I intend no disrespect to the Reverend speaker, when I profess my belief, that he would have deemed it inflammatory, incendiary, and, perhaps, insurrectionary, to have referred to the slave code as an outrage on the unqualified rights of which he spoke. But similar references to the Romish Church are always, not only in order, but very acceptable on the Bible Society platform, as well as off of it. Even slaveholding divines are fierce in their denunciations of Rome for withholding the Bible, while their own chattels are by law prevented from reading it, and not a syllable is uttered by them respecting this "outrage upon the soul, this war upon the immortal spirit," except to justify it, by showing that slavery is of Divine appointment, and that the Bible is wholly unnecessary for slaves, oral instruction being abundantly sufficient for their salvation; the very doctrine of Rome. The truth is, our millions of human chattels are not thought of in American declamation on the value of the Scriptures, and the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

Some time since, the Bible Society *Record* announced in a jubilant strain, "The Wilks County Bible Society, Ga., has just *completed* the supply of that County. We are happy to hear that it has *finished* the work without incurring debt. The Jackson County Bible Society, Ga., has just completed the supply *of all the families* within its limits." In these two Counties are more than 10,000 Americans unsupplied with a copy of the Scriptures. But what of that? their faces are *black*, and when the Society announces that every family is supplied, it means, of course, families with white faces.

You, no doubt, Sir, well remember the great indignation meeting got up in New York, in consequence of the false report that the Duke of Tuscany had imprisoned a man and his wife for reading the Bible. On this occasion, there was a mighty display of Protestant zeal in behalf of religious liberty. The sympathy of the meeting was expressed for Madiai and his wife, and the President of the United States was invoked to use his influence with the Duke for their liberation. The Madiai were imprisoned, as the judgment against themselves declared, not for reading the Bible, but for attempting to make converts from the Catholic Church, and for assailing her doctrines. At the very time of this meeting, a pious lady in Virginia was under arrest, having been indicted, tried and convicted of teaching *free* coloured children to read, and as she declared, to read the Bible. Yet, no sympathy was expressed for Mrs. Douglass, no call made by these haters of oppression, these lovers of the Bible, on the authorities of Virginia for *her* liberation. Two days after the meeting, Mrs. Douglass was sentenced to one month's imprisonment in the common jail as a punishment for her crime, and that sentence was carried into execution. After the Madiai meeting, another grand meeting, "large and enthusiastic," was convoked in New York, "in behalf of the principles of religious freedom;" in other words, in behalf of the religious privileges of American travellers in Roman Catholic countries. Of course much was said about Papal intolerance and oppression. All went smoothly, till the serenity of the meeting was impudently disturbed by a resolution in behalf of the religious freedom of Americans *at home* as well as abroad. The incendiary missile was thrust out of the meeting amid confusion and hisses. And who, Sir, was selected to preside over this assembly of the friends of religious freedom in *foreign* countries? A prominent member of the New York Union-saving, slave-catching committee—a lawyer who had recently evinced his devotion to civil and religious liberty, by successfully depriving an innocent fellow-man of both, and sending him back to a despotism, compared to which, the tyranny of the Duke of Tuscany was, indeed, tender mercy. Mr. Lewis Cass, Democratic United States Senator, was no less a friend to religious liberty *abroad* than Mr. George Wood, and in an elaborate speech on the floor of Congress manifested his devotion to those inalienable rights on the other side of the Atlantic, which he has zealously laboured to crush in one-seventh part of the population of his own country, as well as in his recent effort to extend the most soul-withering despotism, the utter and entire negation of religious freedom, to all of a darker complexion through the vast regions of Nebraska and Kansas.

The Church of Rome discourages the use of the Bible by her people, professedly for their own spiritual good. The Slave Power, by stripes and imprisonment, denies its subjects the ability of reading the Bible, avowedly and without concealment, not for their good, but to keep them in the condition of beasts of burden, to shroud their intellects in darkness, that it may the more easily and with less danger extort money from their unrequited toil. To me, Sir, the conduct of the Roman Church, wicked as I deem it, seems pure as the driven snow, compared with the ineffable turpitude of the slave code. Yet the Bible Society is loud in its condemnation of the one, and shrinks like the Tract Society from whispering a dissent from the other. It was only the strong indignation excited by your appointment of the Editor of the *New York Observer*, that extorted from an Ohio auxiliary the admission we have quoted of the antagonism of slavery to the use of the Bible. Years have elapsed since the newspapers of the day announced the following atrocious occurrence:

"Chauncey B. Black was brought before Recorder Baldwin, charged with tampering with slaves. It was proved that he was seen conversing with a number of them in the street; that he asked them if they could read and write, and if they would like a Bible. This was the amount of the testimony against him. *In palliation of his conduct*, it was shown that he was a regularly appointed agent of the Bible Society of New Orleans, to distribute the Bible to such as would accept of it. *The Society, however, disclaimed having the most distant intention of giving the Scriptures to slaves; and it was said, Black had exceeded his commission in offering them.* But as it appeared to be a mistake on his part, and not intentional interference with the peculiar institution, he was discharged, with a caution not to repeat his *offence.*"—*New Orleans Picayune, 16th Aug., 1841.*

The Parent Society has to this day failed to notice this most abominable disclaimer on the part of its auxiliary. Seven years after this transaction, your Board, compelled by a strong outward pressure, passed the following resolution, viz.:

"So far as there are coloured freemen or slaves within the limits of an auxiliary who can be reached, who are capable of reading the blessed Word of God, and are without it, they should unquestionably be furnished with it, as well as any other class of our ruined race. This duty is plain and imperious, so plain and imperious that the committee know not a *Society at the South that calls it in question.*"—32 *Rep., p.* 65.

Your Board might more truly have affirmed, that they know not a Society, nor scarcely a minister of the Gospel at the South, who objects to or rather does not approve of and commend the laws which render between three and four millions of immortal beings, for whom Christ died, inaccessible to "the blessed Word of God." In Georgia, if a *free* mother having a dark skin dares to teach her own child to read, to read even "the blessed Word of God," she may, by law, be fined or whipped at the discretion of the Court! Yet the Bible Society holds its peace. In North Carolina, to give a slave *any book*, the Bible not excepted, subjects the giver, if white, to a fine of two hundred dollars, if a free coloured person, to thirty-nine lashes! Yet the Bible Society holds its peace. In Georgia, any Justice of the Peace may, at his discretion, break up any religious assembly of slaves, and may order *each slave present* to be "corrected without trial, by receiving on the bare back twenty-five stripes with a whip, switch or cow-skin." In almost every slave State, the laws take, even from the master, the liberty of giving to his slaves religious freedom; and in no State has a slave any religious rights, except at the will of his master. Yet these eminent champions of religious freedom, Messrs. Lewis Cass and George Wood hold their peace. The Duke of Tuscany is a tyrant, only because he is not an American Democrat.

God "will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth." The Redeemer gave the command, "Search the Scriptures." The Apostles, when required by legal authority not to preach in the name of Jesus, trod under foot the impious mandate, and joyfully endured the stripes, and bonds, and death. But the Bible Society in prosecuting the holy mission, seems to know no higher law than the slave code. To that code it submits without a murmur. I beg pardon; you, Sir, in publishing Mr. Fair's address in the *Record* and officially endorsing it as "excellent," may be regarded as uttering, on behalf of the Society, the semblance of a murmur. This address does, indeed, object to the slave code so far, and so far only, as it prohibits slaves from learning to read, and thus debars them from the study of the Bible; whose teachings are not only "not unfriendly to the institution of slavery, but in them, the institution is most amply recognised; it is upon them that we TRIUMPHANTLY REST ITS DEFENCE."

Of all human methods of extending a knowledge of the Divine will, none seem so incapable of abuse, as a Society like yours, confining itself to the single object of distributing the Scriptures without note or comment. Is it then, Sir, a wonder that Northern Christians should see with alarm and indignation the omnipresent Slave Power seizing on the managers of the American Bible Society, and converting them into tools for advancing its own permanency and aggrandizement; causing them to confer special honours on its own special advocates, compelling them to witness in humble acquiescence its denial of the Bible to millions of its victims, and using the paper, types and money of the Society to spread through the land a Scriptural vindication of its own hideous ority? O may the disciples of Christ both watch and pray, that such mighaty agency for good, as the American Bible Society, may not, through the craft and subtlety of the Devil, become a buttress of slavery. May Almighty God deliver this great institution from the dangers to which it is exposed; may He water it with the dew of His heavenly grace, and grant that it may long be an honoured instrument in His hands, in making the way of the Lord known upon earth, His saving health among all nations.

Your late delegate is fond of insinuating in the *Observer* that those who dissent from his cotton theology, are, for the most part, infidels. As the moral sense of mankind when not perverted by self-interest, revolts from slavery, it is very possible that infidels may be found who think it wrong to rob men of the fruits of their labour, and to send their children to market with calves and pigs. But, Sir, so far as the *Observer* represents the anti-slavery agitation as an infidel movement, it is a false witness, and I warn you not to credit its statements. The opposition to the pro-slavery course of the Tract Society, your late delegate denounces as wicked. These very letters will shock his piety. He tells us that the principles of anti-slavery men "lead them into hostility with those institutions through which the benevolence of the churches flows upon the world, a LIE *this is also

Passmore told the truth—and contempt ensued (enthusiastic cheering and merriment). Mothers now frighten their children by threatening a visit from Judge Kane, as the Scottish mothers alarmed theirs by telling them about the Black Douglass. He had heard that two boys were disputing in the street the other day; one charged the other with falsehood. The accused indignantly denied it. "You told the truth, did you?" "Yes, I did." "Then look out for Judge Kane."

But the deed was done, and Passmore Williamson was resolved. If Judge Kane expected him to come out by the window, through the key-hole, or under the door, he would find himself mistaken. He was not the man to crawl. He would make his exit from Moyamensing Prison erect like a man, honest and alive, or he would come horizontally, feet foremost, on his way to the grave. (A feeling of deep solemnity evidently pervaded the entire body of listeners at this point of Mr. Burleigh's speech.) The Judge may suppose him capable of degradation, but I tell you, said Mr. B., it is not always safe for those high in authority to judge their prisoners by themselves.

"More true joy Marcellus, exiled, feels,
Than Cæsar with the Senate at his heels."

After some further remarks, Mr. Burleigh took his seat amid long and reiterated cheering.

After repeated calls, ROBERT PURVIS, Esq., took the platform. He presumed no one would doubt his heartfelt sympathy with and gratitude toward the noble man who was now in prison. Still, he could not refrain from saying, that he thanked God and rejoiced that slavery, in its bloody march, had now laid its hands on a white man. It is no longer the poor black man who smarts under the slave-driver's lash, but it is you, men and women of Pennsylvania, who are now the victims. He rejoiced because he took it for granted that now the North would arouse to manly action, and in their own enslavement would find sympathy for the poor black man, whom they have been so long crushing to the earth. Mr. Purvis spoke briefly, but with great feeling and spirit, and was heartily applauded.

Miss MARY GREW was next introduced. She said that many hard things had been spoken of Judge Kane, but even he had told the truth since imprisoning Passmore Williamson for doing likewise. He told the truth every Sunday, when, kneeling in his cushioned pew, he repeated the simple and beautiful language of the Episcopal Prayer Book, "Forgive us, Lord, for we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and there is no health in us" (much laughter and applause). He repeats those words every Sunday, but whether their pertinency to his case ever occurs to him we cannot tell. The most deplorable feature of this case is, the evidence it gives of a corrupt public sentiment. However much the people may, in their own minds, reject the monstrous doctrines avowed by Judge Kane, they are, nevertheless, far from being able or willing to see the danger that is to be apprehended from the spreading of such theories through the land, or they would rise in their strength and administer a rebuke that would tell effectually on this corrupt Judiciary of ours.

Passmore Williamson is the representative of the Anti-Slavery cause, and let us see to it that he has our heart and active sympathy. Are you ready to visit him in prison and stand beside him in this crisis, heart to heart, as one man? Let us feel that it is no idle boast when we say,

"Joy to thy spirit, brother!
A thousand hearts are warm,
A thousand kindred bosoms
Are baring to the storm."

B. RUSH PLUMLY was called upon, and only had time to say that he felt the walls of Moyamensing Prison closing around him, and trusted that all would realize, to the fullest extent, our danger and our duty in this perilous time.

The meeting then adjourned.

THE TRIBUNE'S "UNPALATABLE COUNSEL."

WE copied, last week, from *The Tribune* an article in which the editor of that journal offered to the Free Blacks what he termed "Unpalatable Counsel"; and in the present issue we give place to another article from the same paper, wherein the same views are further urged and illustrated in reply to a correspondent signing himself "a Free Black." We do not suppose that *The Tribune* is consciously influenced by any other than friendly feelings toward those upon whom it bestows its advice; and yet there is something in its tone and spirit which, to our apprehension, indicates a lack of that generous sympathy for the oppressed and disfranchised people of colour which is indispensable to a right appreciation of the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed, and a candid view of their position and the duties arising therefrom. Indeed we suspect that *The Tribune* is not quite exempt from the hateful spirit of "colourphobia." There lurks underneath all its well-meant counsels, if we are not much mistaken, a measure of that contempt for the negro which finds a fit illustration in the scheme of African Colonization, and which, with great show of benevolence, seeks to place the coloured people in communities by themselves, in order that if possible they may convince the whites that they are men and not monkeys; as if that were a point that needed demonstration!

That many of the free coloured people are "indolent, improvident, servile and licentious," is unquestionably but too true. It is only fair to say, however, that their vices are the natural fruits, in part at least, of the oppression which they have suffered at the hands of the whites. "Captain," said a soldier in the Mexican war, when reprimanded for drunkenness, "you surely cannot be so unreasonable as to look for *all* the Christian virtues in men who are only paid $8 per month!" There is a point in this plea which must be apparent to all. In judging individuals or classes, we must not neglect to make allowance for their peculiar circumstances. It would certainly be strange if a class of people, many of whose fathers or grandfathers were slaves, and who, all their lives long, have been hedged about by disabilities which no amount of individual virtue could suffice to remove, and subjected to insults and outrages which gnaw continually at the very foundations of manliness and self-respect, should be models of genius, enterprise and purity. It is grossly unjust to compare our free coloured population to the *whole* body of the whites, whose opportunities for intellectual and moral improvement are generally far superior to theirs. It would be less unjust to institute a comparison between the blacks and that portion of the whites whose condition, though less onerous and oppressive, in some respects resembles theirs. Such a comparison, we are confident, would exhibit results highly creditable to our coloured fellow-citizens.

That it would be well for coloured men to become owners and cultivators of the soil, instead of remaining in cities in the capacity of waiters, barbers, boot-blacks, &c. we freely admit, and we hope *The Tribune's* advice may not be altogether lost upon them. That paper must, however, be aware that there are peculiar obstacles in the way of any coloured man who may attempt to follow such counsel. Men trained from childhood to occupations which require but a small amount of physical strength are not well fitted to become farmers and mechanics, even if they have the requisite capital to purchase land and tools; and besides, the prejudice against them is so general that the places where they would be welcomed as neighbours, or even protected from insult, are few and far between. *The Tribune* has frequently interposed its influence to shield from reproach the white poor of our cities, who are often harshly censured because they do not go to the country where work and bread are plenty. Faithfully has *The Tribune* plead their cause, repeating again and again the obvious facts, that they have no friends in the country to whom they can go, no money to pay the expenses of travel, no strength to work on farms, and no skill for mechanical employment. In talking to coloured people it appears to be utterly oblivious to the peculiar circumstances of their position, and so unreasonable as almost to expect them to work miracles.

We cannot agree with *The Tribune's* statement that "*the* great obstacles" to the admission of the blacks to the privileges of citizenship are to be found in their improvidence, indolence, servility and vice. On the contrary, they are to be found in the despicable meanness of white Democrats and Whigs, who, with all their professions of regard for liberty and equality, are filled with the hateful and murderous spirit of caste. When white men are excluded from the polls on account of their improvidence, indolence and licentiousness, we may perhaps be willing to attribute the proscription of the blacks to the same cause; but while white gamblers, libertines and knaves of all descriptions are permitted to figure in our elections, not only as voters but as officeholders, we shall insist that all this talk of the vices of the coloured people as the chief obstacle to their admission to the ballot-box is wide of the mark. We think, moreover, that *The Tribune* does not exhibit its usual good sense in deprecating the agitation by the blacks of the question of their right of equal citizenship. To doubt that such agitation on their part will do good, implies, we think, a want of faith in the power of truth which is as inconsistent with the usual course of *The Tribune* on public questions as it is contrary to universal experience. Such agitation will not be likely to hinder, but rather to promote, the measure which that paper so earnestly recommends, and which we, certainly, shall be very glad to see our coloured citizens vigorously carrying into effect.

INAUGURATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Correspondence of The Standard.

SYRACUSE, Sept. 27th, 1855.

THE Republican and Whig State Conventions met in this city yesterday morning. The representation in the last named Convention was not large, there being only about enough in attendance to settle up the affairs of the concern, and make the necessary arrangements for the wedding. The Republican Convention, which assembled in Wieting Hall, was very large, nearly every District being fully represented. The interest manifested by outsiders was unusually great, and during most of the session the galleries were thronged with anxious spectators.

The Hon. Mr. FENTON, of Chautauqua, one of the Congressmen who voted against the Nebraska bill, was chosen President of the Convention. He made a few remarks upon taking the chair, saying that the question upon which they were to deliberate was no less momentous than whether the government of this country shall be an instrument in the hands of tyrants for the propagation of slavery, or what our fathers intended it—the noble bulwark of human freedom!

The morning and afternoon sessions were consumed in the organization of the Convention, and the appointment of two committees—one of two from each Judicial District, to confer with a similar committee from the Whig Convention, and to agree upon a platform—the other, of one from each Senatorial District, to confer with a similar Whig committee, on nominations.

The evening session was one of interest to the people, judging from the numbers which assembled, notwithstanding the severe rain which poured down during the early evening. The Committee on a Platform were expected to report; and while the Convention was in waiting, several speakers were called out, who addressed the Convention. The first of these was Mr. PATTERSON, a Missourian, whose name has been somewhat conspicuous before the people, as the editor of the *Parkville Luminary*, whose office was destroyed by a mob of Missouri ruffians. He was greeted by enthusiastic applause, and made a vigorous speech, in which he handled Frank Pierce, and Judge Wells, of Maine, "without mittens." He reviewed some of the leading measures of the Administration, showing Pierce to be what he pronounced him, "the most obedient dog of the Slave Power!" But he has not yet seen the end of the slavery question. It is with him, he said, as it was with a man who was travelling in Ireland, who came to a large bog, and wishing to get over it without going around, called to a "native" on the other side, and asked him if the bottom of the bog was hard. He replied that it was, and the traveller went in, and immediately sunk to his neck in the mud. Enraged at his ill success, he demanded of the laughing "native" why he told him the bottom of the bog was hard. "And hard it is, yer honour," replied Pat, "*but shure and ye've not found the bottom yet!*" So it is with Pierce. He is already up to his neck in the mud, but "the end is not yet." He gave some interesting facts concerning the outrages of Atchison & Co. with their bully invaders, and the infamous manner in which the rights of voters and of free speech have been trampled into the earth in Kansas. But he believed a different state of affairs is at hand. All over the South are true hearts, beating warmly in sympathy with the freemen of the North. If the question of sustaining the Kansas outrages were to-day submitted to the people of Missouri, he was confident that they would be repudiated, four to one.

He was followed by Mr. MARTINDALE, of Rochester, who thought that a new battle-cry was now to be echoed by the freemen of the North. We have heretofore been divided upon sectional and unimportant issues; but now the war-cry is one of national importance—it is the war-cry of Freedom! He hoped the North would no longer be frightened by the cry of dissolving the Union. He should deplore such an event as a calamity, but he did not believe such a thing could occur. If, however, the mad spirit of dissolution is really rampant, in the South, he believed the North should fling out the banner of defiance, and meet their threats with bold and manly words. When this was done, he believed that Southern bullies and Northern doughfaces would talk no more of dissolving the Union.

ASA B. SMITH, of Wayne Co., made a speech, in which he advocated radical anti-slavery and temperance ideas. He was frequently and loudly applauded. It was an item worthy of remark, that the most radical sentiments expressed in the Convention were, as a general thing, more loudly applauded than any other. Mr. Smith referred to the revolution which has taken place in the feelings of the people on the slavery question, since GARRISON and other noble pioneers first proclaimed deliverance to the captive. Twenty years ago, he was himself in danger from a mob in a neighbouring city, and now a large Convention of delegates from every part of the State had met to join hands in urging onward this noble cause. He had recently been into some portions of the South. In the city of Wilmington, Delaware, the Mayor and Common Council opened the City Hall for an anti-slavery meeting, and that eloquent advocate for the rights of the slave, C. C. BURLEIGH, spoke in tones of wonderful eloquence, of the wrongs of slavery, and the great sin of holding men and women in bondage. The audience was large, and the attention earnest and respectful. He had seen Passmore Williamson in his dungeon; and he saw him calm and cheerful. While he was there Mr. W. had received two letters from strangers, enclosing drafts, one for $1,000 and the other for $500. He said that Mr. W. was overcome with emotion at these substantial and unmistakable tokens of sympathy—not for him so much as for the great principle of liberty stricken down in his person. At this point in Mr. Smith's remarks the applause was loud and frequent; and, finally, nine hearty cheers were given for Passmore Williamson. Would that Judge Kane (*Cain*) could have heard it. He might have trembled even as the jailor when Paul and Silas were in the prison, not for fear that his victim would escape, but that the gathering clouds of indignation might at length burst in a wild storm upon the heads of those who thus mock justice, and crush the rights of humanity into the earth.

Several other speakers were called out, among whom were Mr. PRYNE. He spoke of the province of civil government, as being to protect the rights of the people. Two or three speakers were voted a *bore* by the audience, and put down by loud cheers, hissess, &c. The session continued till near 10 o'clock, when the Chairman announced that the Committee on a Platform were not prepared to report, and it was voted to adjourn till 9 o'clock this morning.

The Convention assembled this morning at the appointed hour. It was generally understood that there was a "split" in the Committee on Resolutions, in relation to the Temperance question. The old Whig politicians, who find it impossible to forget their tricks, and are ever ready to go for the spoils, and never ready to go for principle, unless they can make by the operation, were opposed to incorporating a Maine Law plank into the platform. On the other hand, there were many who were disposed to look the question in the face, and accept the issue offered by the Democracy of both sort of "Shells." Great interest was therefore felt. HORACE GREELEY, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported a Platform. It embraced a series of nine resolutions, which were unanimously adopted. [See first page.—EDS.]

J. W. STEBBINS, of Rochester, presented a minority report, embracing a preamble and resolution in favour of the principle of prohibition, and demanding that the law enacted by the Legislature be allowed to have a fair trial. He hoped the resolution might be voted upon without discussion. Somebody very earnestly moved that Horace Greeley be heard upon the reasons for not incorporating the temperance plank into the platform, and that the vote be then taken! This smacked a little too strongly of jug-handled justice, and the friends of the plank insisted on "both sides or neither." But Mr. Greeley could not miss the opportunity to advocate his views of expediency, and made an attempt to convert the Convention to the belief that the Temperance question had no claims upon it. He did not want to drive the anti-Maine Law men from the Republican ranks, and for this reason was opposed to the plank. He was in favour of prohibition, but was opposed to declaring it.

Mr. STEBBINS followed him in an earnest appeal in favour of his resolution, though even he was of opinion that it made no difference what a man's habits are, if he is pledged politically to sustain the Maine Law. I longed to hear, at this point, a bold, manly and true defence of principle—to hear some one who recognised the eternal nature of truth, and could expose the folly of sacrificing principle on the shrine of expediency. But it did not come. It is seldom indeed that words of that nature fall from the lips of politicians. Mr. Stebbins's speech, however, was powerful, and told upon the Convention.

At the close of Mr. Stebbins's speech, several gentlemen attempted to get the floor, but were unable to make themselves heard, so great was the confusion and so loud the calls of "question!" "order!" &c., &c.

The question was then taken on the motion to lay Mr. Stebbins's proposition on the table. The motion was voted down 108 to 85.

Here, now, was a dilemma for the expediency men. Which horn they would grasp, it was impossible to tell. They must either renounce "fusion" and thus commit suicide, or they must indorse prohibition, which they feigned to believe no better than suicide. But sufficient to the emergency are the wiles of politicians, and the thing was managed after this wise: E. D. Culver moved, as an amendment to the motion to append the Temperance resolution to the platform, that it be passed as the unanimous expression of the Republican Convention, but that it be no part of the platform! This proposition was received with repeated bursts of applause. The amendment was accepted and passed by acclamation, and cheered long and loud. Whether this is a specimen of Republican "back-bone" remains to be seen. We hope, however, that on the *main* question, if not on the Maine Law question, they will prove themselves of sterner stuff.

The Committee on nominations reported the following candidates for the several State offices, who were by acclamation declared to be the nominees of the Convention: For Secretary of State, Preston King; Attorney-General, Abijah Mann, Jr.; Comptroller, James M. Cook; Canal Commissioner, D. A. Bissel; Surveyor, George Geddes; Treasurer, Alexander B. Williams; Prison Inspector, Wesley Baily; Judge, long term, Bradford R. Wood; short term, Joseph Mullen.

At about 11 o'clock, it was announced from the Whig Convention that they were ready to unite with the Republicans in joint Convention, having agreed to the same nominees and platform as the one reported by the joint Committees. A Committee of ten was appointed to wait upon that Convention, inviting them to a seat with the Republicans, and escorting the officers to the stand.

All things being ready, and Barkis having declared himself willing, the Committee proceeded to perform their duty. As the officers and members of the Whig Convention came in, they were greeted with nine enthusiastic cheers. The nominees and platform of the two several Conventions were then declared to be the nominees and platform of the joint Republican Convention, amid great applause.

Judge CULVER being loudly called for, came forward and made a vigorous speech. He closed by saying that by the authority vested in him as a Judge, by the people of the State of New York, he pronounced the Whig and Republican parties one. "And what the people have joined together, let not demagogues put asunder!"

During these scenes, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and everything was greeted with loud and prolonged applause. The Convention adjourned at about 12 1-2 o'clock, after the transaction of some unimportant business. Thus *fusion* has come out of *confusion*; and thus are we beginning to see the fruits of the anti-slavery gospel, so long and earnestly proclaimed by the true men who, unmindful of self, have laboured on and ever, for the rights of down-trodden humanity.

The celebration of the Jerry Rescue comes off here on Monday next. All honour to the deed. There is a military encampment now in "blast" here, and it is hinted that an attempt will be made to capture Loguen, while the arguments of despots are thus convenient.

Yours for Truth, FAITH.

JERRY RESCUE CELEBRATION.

Correspondence of The Standard.

SYRACUSE, Oct. 1st, 1855.

THE Fourth Anniversary of the Jerry Rescue was celebrated in our city to-day. There was not so large an attendance as there was at the celebration last year; yet our largest hall was well filled.

The meeting was called to order at 10 1-2 o'clock this forenoon, by GERRIT SMITH, President of the meeting. J. W LOGUEN was called for, and made a few remarks, expressing the hope that we were not drawn together so much by a desire to honour the Rescue of Jerry, as by a determination to strike brave blows in the great battle against slavery. He was followed by Rev. Mr. SALISBURY, of Albany, who argued that the Jerry Rescue was a practical application of the Golden Rule, given us by Jesus: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." As such a deed he honoured it. It was a triumph of the Higher Law over the false enactments of a corrupt and servile Legislature. When the man Jerry was arrested by the mercenaries of the Government, there was no alternative but to obey the law of God and set him free, or to submit to the sham laws of wicked men.

Mr. SALISBURY was followed by Rev. E. P. ROGERS, of Newark, N. J., a coloured man, who recited a Poem. He was frequently applauded.

The remainder of the forenoon was consumed by the reading of an Address to the people, by Hon. GERRIT SMITH. It was a very long document, and one upon which he had evidently bestowed great labour. His views of Law were therein set forth. He argued that the Jerry Rescue was a vindication of Law, and that the officials who attempted to enslave Jerry were a lawless mob. His views on these points are so well understood by the readers of THE STANDARD, that it will not be necessary to state them. We know not how the address impressed others, but some portions of it appeared to us not entirely appropriate to the occasion. He went on, at great length, to criticise all anti-slavery men who do not adopt his own peculiar views of the best *modus operandi* for the abolition of slavery. Judge Jay, Senator Chase, Charles Sumner and Mr Garrison were successively reviewed. He claimed that these must all take another step before they can become genuine Simon pure Abolitionists. The first three of these come short because they only labour to hem in slavery, while Mr. Garrison and his friends come short in refusing to vote for Wm. Goodell for Congress. We could hardly see the necessity for, or the appropriateness of, these criticisms, in an address relating to the Rescue of Jerry. Perhaps, however, it was our obtuseness. We had supposed that the object of these celebrations was to give all the friends of freedom an opportunity to express their gratitude that a human being was rescued from the grasp of a despotic government—that humanity and right triumphed over outrage and injustice; and not to find fault with each other, for not subscribing to a distinctive anti-slavery creed. But perhaps we have misjudged. Notwithstanding these faults, as they appeared to us, the address was a noble vindication of the rights of the coloured man, and contained much of the generous and large-hearted benevolence of its author. It was frequently applauded—especially that portion of it relating to the cruel and infamous conduct of Judge Kane in the imprisonment of Passmore Williamson.

Letters were read from Wm. Jay, of New York, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and one from the faculty and students of the Illinois Central College, expressing sympathy with the meeting, and deep abhorrence for the enactment and the power which attempted the capture of Jerry.

The afternoon session was more spirited and more largely attended than the morning session. G. W. CLARK, of Rochester, enlivened the exercises with singing.

BIRIAH GREEN, of Whitestown, was first introduced to the audience, and made one of his powerful and logical speeches. We are ever met, he told us, with the objection that we violate the Constitution, when we attempt to legislate for the good of humanity. If we would suppress Intemperance, we infringe the Constitution. If we would redress the wrongs of the slave, and restore to him his rights, we infringe the Constitution. It reminded him of an incident of a family with whom he was acquainted when a boy. This family owned a slave whose name was Pompey. He was of course subjected to the contempt and abuse incident to his position; and whatever blows and punishments were inflicted upon him, he was solemnly assured that it was all for the good of his soul. Pompey at last wearied of the inflictions, and on a certain occasion when he was assured that a severe punishment was for the good of his soul, he said: "I wish I had n't got any soul!" So he had often thought of the Constitution. If it is hostile to everything high and pure and ennobling—if it must ever be flung in our faces as a barrier to human progress, he wished we had n't got any Constitution! We might say of it as another had said, when it was thrust in his face as an enemy of humanity—"if this is your Constitution, burn the d—d thing, and get another!" He thought the greatest work for reformers to do was to impress upon the world, the true meaning of the terms employed by our fathers in framing the Constitution, and went on to argue that *persons* are forever and entirely distinct from *property*—that to confound them is to overturn the basis of all society and all government, and to introduce chaos and confusion. Such chaos reigns in our country—it has been introduced by Courts and Legislatures, who have confounded personality with property, by taking man, the noblest work of God, and the image of his Creator, and making him a thing of merchandise. It is for every true reformer to assert and maintain his own personality.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS was loudly called for; but was so ill from an attack of the ague and fever, that he was unable to respond.

Mr. PRYNE, being called for, came forward, and made a speech in favour of employing physical force to liberate slaves. He hailed the Jerry Rescue as a new era in the history of the anti-slavery movement, because it was evidence that the people here had finally arrived at that point in their opposition to slavery, when they were not afraid to resist it with physical force. Had such a sentiment prevailed in Boston, Burns would never have been taken back to the South. If he did not believe in physical resistance he would not be seen upon the stand at a Jerry Rescue Celebration.

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY wanted to ask the audience one question. Is there a man or a woman in this house who can imagine that Jesus of Nazareth could have stood there and said all that Brother Pryne has said? (Cries of "No.") He has condemned one of the greatest truths Jesus Christ ever taught.

Mr. PRYNE—I deny it. It is false. I do not suppose Jesus would have said all I have said. He came as a religious teacher, and not to meddle with governments (cheers).

Mr. MAY—Could he not have summoned legions of angels, and was not his life of more value than that of any man that has ever lived? But suppose he had? Not then the natural sun would have been darkened, but the spiritual sun. Our brother does not understand as well as I do, the spirit in which the Rescue of Jerry was accomplished. He does not know the advice which Gerrit Smith and I gave those who went to rescue him.

Mr. PRYNE—I know what they did, though (laughter).

Mr. MAY, we advised them to go as they would go to rescue a person from a burning building—not to contend with falling beams—but to bring away the victim, risking their own lives.

A VOICE—If you were going to save a person from a fire, and I should resist you to keep you from going, what would you do?

Mr. MAY—There is nothing inconsistent with non-resistance in using force. If I could overcome you without harming you, I should do it (applause).

Great interest was manifested during this controversy. Mr. Clark sung an anti-slavery song, and Mr. May closed the meeting with a benediction. Those who had threatened to capture Mr. Loguen, during this Celebration, did not make their appearance.

Yours for the Right, FAITH.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, 10th mo. 3d, 1855.

YOU will, perhaps, have seen that the wise men of our State have met in council and resolved that the quartette of candidates for Canal Commissioner shall waive their claims upon the suffrages of the people in favour of Mr. Nicholson, of Beaver Co. Passmore Williamson, as you are aware, was one of the four, and, indeed, the only one who caused any disquietude to the leaders of the Know-Nothing party. They knew that with him in the field, their lot was a hopeless one, and they were not ready to adopt Mr. Williamson, perhaps were not able to do so. If that gentleman had been presented to the people as the candidate of the Anti-Administration parties, no one doubts that he would have been triumphantly elected. Thousands of Democrats would have sunk party considerations to exhibit, by their votes, their regard for the victim of judicial tyranny and their disapprobation of his oppressors. Other thousands, who have seldom appeared at the polls, would have gone this time to give a public expression of their sympathy and admiration for Passmore Williamson. The Administration would have found itself in a hopeless minority, and we might reasonably hope that, with the popular will so manifestly opposed to his imprisonment, some means would have been devised for his liberation. No one who knows Mr. Williamson doubts his eminent fitness for the office. We often hear, before election, of the incorruptible integrity of a candidate, but it is generally the utterance of an unscrupulous politician in favour of a brother politician. But the world knows the temper of Mr. Williamson and has abundant evidence of his unyielding devotion to principle. His acquaintance with practical business affairs would have made him particularly useful in a Board where thorough business men are rarely found. Mr. Williamson, under any other circumstances than the present, would not have consented to have his name used as a candidate for this office. He is not ambitious of political distinction, and he knows that office-hunting, and, indeed, office-holding, is a most unprofitable profession. It is not surprising that he listened readily to the proposition of a withdrawal of his name. For himself, to be elected would be undesirable. To be one of four defeated candidates would have been unpleasant, and abroad it might have given rise to great misapprehensions regarding Pennsylvania feeling. Personal reasons, then, conspired to make his withdrawal a prudent move. I think, however, that, politically, it was a blunder. If it would secure the election of Nicholson, it would be justified in the eyes of politicians. This result, I think, is very doubtful. The American party, as it calls itself, is very much weaker that it was a year ago. It has been shattered by the pro-slavery action of its National Council, and is now crumbling through local feuds and dissensions. Whigs who, last year, voted for its candidate, now go for Rum and Democracy. The only hope for the Anti-Administration candidate lay in getting out votes that usually are passive and in withdrawing support from the Democratic party. That Passmore Williamson would have done, and that Mr. Nicholson can hardly do. Had the four candidates remained in the field, the Democrats would have elected their candidate, but by a minority vote. As things now stand, the probabilities are that they will elect him over the united opposition, and the result will be heralded as an endorsement of Pierce and Kansas ruffianism, and as an unmistakable indication of the position of Pennsylvania in 1856. Another unfortunate feature of the coalition is, that many of Passmore Williamson's friends will vote for him spite of his withdrawal, and the comparatively small scattering vote will be paraded before the people by Democrats and Cotton men as a measure of the public sympathy for him. At home no one will be misled, but at a distance, where the circumstances are unknown, the story will find some believers.

Such are my opinions of the political contest in our State, but I do not assume to be a political seer. When I was a schoolboy, I was, in my own conceit, a pretty far-seeing politician; but now that I am a man, I have put away childish things. The Know-Nothings are confident of carrying their Canal Commissioner, and swear terribly in anticipation at the Republicans and Abolitionists if they refuse to help them.

I have taken up your space with these political speculations because the political aspect of the Anti-Slavery question is just now in the ascendant, and not because I think it is a matter of much importance whether the Democrat or the Know-Nothing succeeds.

In a postscript to my last letter, I mentioned an action for damages which Mr. Wheeler, by his attorneys, had instituted against Passmore Williamson. This is a civil suit, and may be tried soon or late, or never, just as the lawyers please. It is not likely that it will develope anything new. It is more than probable that it has been instituted to save appearances. If Wheeler had quietly yielded the position that Jane Johnson and her children were free, by refraining from prosecuting for damages, it would have withdrawn every shadow of a plea for holding Passmore Williamson in prison.

When I began, I thought I should apologize for writing so short a letter. Now I think I should apologize for having written at all. C.

CORRECTION.—We have received a note from Mr. Wm. Goodell, written to correct an impression which, he understands, is made by a paragraph in THE STANDARD of two or three weeks since, that the Radical Political Convention, to be held in Boston on the 23d, 24th and 25th inst., is not to be open to free discussion as the meetings of Abolitionists are generally. Mr. Goodell desires it to be understood, that while the callers of the Convention shall hold the control of it, as is their right, it will nevertheless be open to Abolitionists of all classes for free discussion to any reasonable and practicable extent. We have not room for Mr. Goodell's note, but we give the substance of it in his own words.

THE FIRST ANTI-SLAVERY DISCOURSE IN MANAYUNK.

MANAYUNK, Pa., Sept. 19, 1855.

To the Editors of The Standard.

THE Rev. Mr. Milligan (a Covenanter) delivered a discourse on American slavery, in the Temperance Hall of this place, on Sunday last. This gentleman has the honour of being the pioneer in the cause in Manayunk. He certainly deserves the thanks of all the friends of freedom for his earnest and manly effort in behalf of the bondman, both black and white.

He discussed the subject under the following heads, viz.: 1. The moral turpitude of Slavery, *per se*. 2. Its disastrous effects. 3. The causes of its continuance and increase. In the first division of his discourse, he dwelt particularly on the laws of God as contained in the Old Testament. Under the second head, he said, that among the most disastrous effects of slavery was the fact that the nation was governed in toto by about 350,000 Southern aristocrats, or tyrants rather, nurtured and schooled for the business of tyranizing in the hot-bed of slavery. His chief points under the third head were 1. The Constitution. 2. The Church. 3. Public sentiment at the North. Altogether, it was well-timed and fitly spoken.

C.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 593, brings us a full report, from the London *Times*, of Queen Victoria's visit to Paris, an event which well deserves a permanent record. We have also the first seven chapters of an admirable story from the *Dublin University Magazine*—"The Fortunes of Glencore"—by the author of Charles O'Malley, and *Blackwood's* review of Tennyson's "Maud." New York, 343 Broadway.

PEACHES.—Our friend, Isaac S. Hallock, of Milton, Ulster Co., sent us, last week, a basket of very fine peaches, grown upon his farm. In return for this kindness, we mean to send him, at the first opportunity, a consignment of freight by the Underground Railroad, that being the only branch of our business that yields anything for exportation.

☞ THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have appointed CAROLINE F. PUTNAM a colporteur of tracts and collecting agent.

Miss Putnam is at present in Massachusetts, and will probably continue there for the present.

Summary.

HON. JOHN P. HALE is to deliver the opening lecture before the Newbury Lyceum, and Joshua R. Giddings the second.

A SMALL ITEM.—The New York *Sun*, descanting on the extravagancies of dress in this city, estimates the annual cost of dressing and jewelling the ladies of New York and its vicinity, at from thirty to forty millions of dollars, as much as it costs to maintain the General Government.

HONESTLY DISHONEST.—Prentice, of the *Louisville Journal*, says:

"Three years ago, a man in Mississippi cheated us out of twenty dollars, and now his son cheats us out of about the same sum. The young man's propensity to cheat is probably *the only thing that he ever came honestly by.*"

INDIANA LIQUOR LAW.—In Indianapolis, Mrs. Leatherman has been released from punishment for selling liquor, because the prohibitory law has no provision that females should be imprisoned. Under this decision liquor can be sold anywhere in Indiana by women. At Evansville, however, a Mrs. Reid has been fined $50 and costs in one case, $100 and 10 days in jail in a second, and the same in a third case, and Miss Castle, her assistant, $20 and costs.

The ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD rebukes *The Independent* for its endorsement of Mr. Frelinghuysen, Dr. Cox and Dr. Nehemiah Adams. A defender of the Fugitive Act and an apologist for slavery we will not recognize in any Christian relation. Who are personally Christians we know not, because we cannot look into the heart; but that the Fugitive Act and Slavery are Anti-Christian we do know. Here we agree with THE STANDARD.—*Portland Inquirer*.

SOUTHERN FEELING.—We mentioned yesterday the arrest at Winchester, Va., of one Toothacre, charged with robbery at West Amesbury, Mass. It is stated that as the Boston officers were about leaving Winchester, a crowd of the lower classes of the population assembled about the depot, and threatened to rescue the prisoner, saying that the officers were Northern Abolitionists, who refused to send back their niggers, and talked of having their heart's blood. Judge Riley, the better class of the population, and the officers Hay and Hines interfered, protected Messrs. Heath and Jones, and enabled them to get off with their prisoner in safety.—*Bost. Tel.*

At a late anniversary of Yale College, Prof. Silliman was called out by a complimentary toast. In the course of his remarks the Professor proceeded for the benefit of his younger brothers present to say how it was that at his age (76 years) he enjoyed such excellent health and spirits. He said that at thirty he was dyspeptic and feeble. He cut off determinedly all stimulants, and had used none since. He dieted one year, and then returned to his labour. He ate always plain, nutritious food, and drank nothing but plain, diluted drinks. He eschewed tobacco in every form. Every morning he used free sponge and cold water, and felt now no less power of endurance than when he was a young man, and no abatement of intellectual power.

Horace Greeley, in the conclusion of his address at Westfield, said:

"I passed my early days on a farm in the country, and there is nothing which now gives me so much satisfaction as to retire, as I am now in the habit of doing, to my little farm one day in the week, and see my crops growing around me, and enjoy the improvements of which I can claim to be the author. I am a farmer only on Saturdays, but next year, instead of spending one day in a week on my farm, I hope I shall be able to devote to it two, and to increase the number till I am rescued from the turmoil of that boiling whirlpool, a great city, and can spend the evening of my days in those quiet agricultural pursuits, which are so much more congenial to my feelings."

Horace Greeley offers, if the State Agricultural Society will take charge of the matter, to "give $50 to the New York boy under 18 years of age who shall grow the best acre of corn in 1856, and a like premium to the New York boy who shall grow the best acre of roots of whatever kind."

Mr. Greeley adds: "Of course, the quantity produced is not to be the only criterion of merit; but each competitor must plow his own land and cultivate it with his own hands throughout, keeping an exact account of all labour and outlay of every sort, giving notice in due season that he intends to compete, and sending to the Secretary of the Society a full, clear account of his management throughout. Should the Society think well of this offer, we have no doubt it will prompt many a similar tenor."

Now, boys, show the world what you can do!

The *Daily Times* has a few remarks upon the character of ex-Senator Atchison:

"We can recall no record of any public man so destitute of merit as his. Noisy and brawling in the lobby, he has been noteless for any thing wise or well said in the Senate Chamber. The *Congressional Globe* would have helped his fame by leaving blanks after each recurrence of his name. His presence, indeed, is a perpetual tribute to the long-suffering of the Senate. It has experience of small men. Pettit, of Indiana, has been there, small in name and kind; Norris, of New Hampshire, was there. Men have been there—like Jarnegin, of Tennessee, whose luckless vote on the Tariff killed him and it—whose good names have been sold for nothing; blockheads and bullies have been there, like Borland—a human extract of both; and mean men have been there, like that Pennsylvania statesman whose devotion to a railroad speculation contributed to the loss of Kansas and Nebraska to freedom. But the history of the Senate records no instance where it has enjoyed the society and sweet counsel of a member so thoroughly accomplished in little, mean, stupid, ruffianly attributes as this frontier pettifogger; this predestined, we fear, if not actual representative of Missouri, and mis-representative of Kansas, in the Senate.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY HOUSE.—On entering this spacious building, something naturally and unavoidably painful and gloomy steals over the mind while reflecting that among the immense mass of theological lore, in the form of books, tracts, and periodicals, not a word of rebuke is uttered against American slavery, a sin of all others, the most fruitful, ruinous and soul-damning! and is shaking the foundations of earth, heaven and hell! Yes, Brother, amid the millions on millions of pages issued from this house, not a line of remonstrance against the blood-guiltiness of the oppressor and man-stealer! Minor evils are denounced severely—but this giant sin is passed by in utter silence! And what caps the climax of this glaring and heaven-daring inconsistency is, the managers of this Society, we are informed, are resolved, *firmly* and deliberately, to persevere in this scheme, never to alter or disannul this covenant with death and hell! "Wo to them that decree unrighteous decrees." *Wo! wo! wo!*—*Cor. Free Presbyterian.*

BISHOP SOULE.—In his history of the Great Secession, Dr. Elliott affirms that Bishop Soule has "become a slaveholder." This statement Mr. Soule denies, through the columns of the *Nashville Christian Advocate*, in the following words:

"*I am not now, and never was a slaveholder. I never owned a slave by purchase, gift or by any other means; and never had an intention or desire to own one.* But greater and better men than I am, I have no doubt, have owned slaves; and many have passed to that land where the 'servant is free from his master,' and where, together, they adore the infinite riches of that grace by which they were enabled to discharge their relative duties, and to escape safely from a world morally and physically disordered. Philemon and Onesimus are, doubtless, with that company."

If Mr. Soule is not a slaveholder in fact, his language certainly proves him one in spirit and principle, and we are surprised at the chagrin manifested in his article at Dr. Elliot's mistake. If slaveholding is a virtue, as the M. E. Church, South, would seem to teach, why should its senior bishop be angry because, owing to misinformation, a writer asserts that his character is adorned with it? Can the bishop be *injured* by being arrayed in a virtue so ornamental and precious as that of slaveholding? We can understand why he should as a matter of truth put Dr. E. right, but why he should be angry, on the principles of his church, we cannot comprehend.—*Zion's Herald.*

A REVOLTING DEED FOR THE BENEFIT OF SLAVERY.—One of the most revolting spectacles ever witnessed in a Christian community, we venture to say, was witnessed a few days since at Alexandria, La. It was the public execution of a lad of ten years, and strange to say, Christian men and women rode forty miles to see it. As an evidence of how mere a child he was, some gentlemen who called to see him the day before his execution, found him playing with marbles in his cell. On telling him that he was to be hung the next morning and asking him what he thought of it, and why he did not pray, he answered that it was nothing, adding that he had been hung many a time. He was playing all the time in jail, never once realizing the dreadful fate that awaited him. When

Miscellaneous Department.

From Putnam's Magazine, for October.

THE WILLEY HOUSE.

A BALLAD OF THE WHITE HILLS.

I.

Come, children, put your baskets down,
And let the blushing berries be;
Sit here and wreathe a laurel crown,
And if I win it, give it me.

'Tis afternoon—it is July—
The mountain shadows grow and grow;
Your time of rest, and mine is nigh—
The moon was rising long ago.

While yet on Chocorua's top
The lingering sunlight says farewell,
Your purple-fingered labour stop,
And hear a tale I have to tell.

II.

You see that cottage in the glen,
Yon desolate, forsaken shed—
Whose mouldering threshold now and then,
Only a few stray travellers tread.

No smoke is curling from its roof,
At eve no cattle gather round,
No neighbour now, with dint of hoof,
Prints his glad visit on the ground.

A happy home it was of yore:
At morn the flocks went nibbling by,
And Farmer Willey, at his door,
Oft made their reckoning with his eye.

Where yon rank alder trees have sprung,
And birches cluster, thick and tall,
Once the stout apple overhung,
With his red gifts, the orchard wall.

Right fond and pleasant, in their ways,
The gentle Willey people were,
I knew them in those peaceful days,
And Mary—every one knew her.

III.

Two summers now had seared the hills,
Two years of little rain or dew;
High up the courses of the rills
The wild-rose and the raspberry grew:

The mountain sides were cracked and dry,
And frequent fissures on the plain,
Like mouths, gaped open to the sky
As though the parched earth prayed for rain.

One sultry August afternoon,
Old Willey, looking toward the west,
Said—"We shall hear the thunder soon:
Oh! if it bring us rain, 'tis blest."

And even with his word, a smell,
Of sprinkled fields passed through the air,
And from a single cloud there fell
A few large drops—the rain was there.

Ere set of sun a thunder-stroke
Gave signal to the floods to rise:
Then the great seal of heaven was broke!
Then burst the gates that barred the skies!

While from the west the clouds rolled on,
And from the nor' west gathered fast;
"We'll have enough of rain anon,"
Said Willey—"if this deluge last."

For all these cliffs that stand sublime
Around, like solemn priests appeared,
Gray Druids of the olden time,
Each with his white and streaming beard.

Till in one sheet of seething foam
The mingling torrents joined their might;
But in the Willeys' quiet home
Was naught but silence and "Good night!"

For soon they went to their repose,
And in their beds all safe and warm,
Saw not how fast the waters rose,
Heard not the growing of the storm.

But just before the stroke of ten,
Old Willey looked into the night,
And called upon his two hired men,
And woke his wife, who struck a light;

Though her hand trembled, as she heard
The horses whinneying in the stall,
And—"children!" was the only word,
That woman from her lips let fall.

"Mother!" the frighted infants cried,
"What is it? has a whirlwind come?"
Wildly the weeping mother eyed
Each little darling, but was dumb.

A sound! as though a mighty gale
Some forest from its hold had riven,
Mixed with a rattling noise like hail,
God! art thou raining rocks from heaven?

A flash! oh Christ! the lightning showed
The mountain moving from his seat!
Out! out into the slippery road!
Into the wet with naked feet!

No time for dress—for life! for life!
No time for any word but this:
The father grasped his boys—his wife
Snatched her young babe—but not to kiss.

And Mary with the younger girl,
Barefoot and shivering in their smocks,
Sped forth amid that angry whirl
Of rushing waves and whelming rocks.

For down the mountain's crumbling side,
Full half the mountain from on high
Came sinking; like the snows that slide
From the great Alps about July.

And with it went the lordly ash,
And with it went the kingly pine,
Cedar and oak amid the crash,
Dropped down like clippings of the vine.

Two rivers rushed—the one that broke
His wonted bounds and drowned the land,
And one that streamed with dust and smoke,
A flood of earth, of stones and sand.

Then for a time the valve was dry,
The soil had swallowed up the wave;
Till one star looking from the sky,
A signal to the tempest gave:

The clouds withdrew, the storm was o'er,
Bright Aldebaran burned again;
The buried river rose once more,
And foamed along his gravelly glen.

IV.

At morn the men of Conway felt
Some dreadful thing had chanced that night,
And those by Bretton woods who dwelt
Observed the mountain's altered height.

Old Crawford and the Fabyan lad
Came down from Amonoosuck then,
And passed the Notch—ah! strange and sad
It was to see the ravaged glen.

But having toiled for miles in doubt,
With many a risk of limb and neck,
They saw and hailed with joyful shout
The Willey House amid the wreck.

That avalanche of stones and sand,
Remembering mercy in its wrath,
Had parted, and on either hand,
Passed the ruin of its path.

And there upon its pleasant slope,
The cottage, like a sunny isle,
That wakes the shipwrecked seaman's hope,
Amid that horror seemed to smile.

And still upon the lawn before,
The peaceful sheep were nibbling nigh;
But Farmer Willey at his door
Stood not to count them with his eye.

And in the dwelling—O despair!
The silent room! the vacant bed!
The children's little shoes were there—
But whether were the children fled?

That day a woman's head, all gashed,
Its long hair streaming in the flow,
Went o'er the dam, and then was dashed
Among the whirlpools down below.

And farther down, by Saco side,
They found the mangled forms of four,
Held in an eddy of the tide;
But Mary, she was seen no more.

Yet never to this mournful vale
Shall any maid, in Summer time,
Come without thinking of the tale
I now have told you in my rhyme.

And when the Willey House is gone,
And its last rafter is decayed,
Its history may yet live on
In this your ballad that I made.

THE FIRST PRINTED BOOK.

A PARAGRAPH has lately been going the rounds of the newspapers about early printed books, wherein it is stated that the first which bears a date is of the year 1455, thus making it just four centuries since the invention of printing. Neither of these assertions are correct, as it is certain that books were printed from five to seven years earlier, and that the earliest printed date to a book is that of 1457. These specimens are of exceeding rarity. We do not propose entering into a history of printing, but as we constantly see accounts of old bibles and other books printed a hundred years later than the period above named, we shall state a few facts on this interesting subject.

There is even now much doubt as to the precise year when moveable metal types were invented and first used; it is sufficient, however, to say that it was between the years 1440 and 1450. Some single printed sheets, containing the Pope's indulgences, bearing date of 1450 and 1455 are known, and an almanac of 1457. But the first printed book known is the celebrated Mazarin Bible in two folio volumes. It was so called from the discovery of a copy in the library of Cardinal Mazarin at Paris, about the middle of the last century, since which time seventeen other copies have been found in various parts of Europe; of these, nine were in public and nine in private libraries. It has no date, but at the end of each volume, of the copy in the Royal Library at Paris, is an inscription in red ink. That in the second volume is as follows:

"This book, illuminated and bound by Henry Cremer, vicar of the Collegiate Church of St. Stephen, at Mentz, was completed on the feast of the assumption of the blessed virgin Mary, A. D. 1456. Thanks be to God. Hallelujah."

Some think the work was finished in 1450 or 1452, while others fix it at 1455, as the binding and illumination of this particular copy would, in all probability, soon follow its publication. But in the infancy of the art, it is probable that it was from five to seven years in printing; hence, the inference would be that it was commenced before the year 1450, an opinion in which most investigators agree.

Until within a few years, no copy of this rare book was known in the United States, and there seemed little probability that there would be, as the copies in the private libraries of Europe were held beyond price, and except in the breaking up of some old family and estate, would an opportunity be offered to procure one. Such an opportunity, however, was presented about seven years since, when one of the great private libraries was to be brought to the hammer in London, and news was spread far and wide that a copy of the Mazarin Bible was among its rarities. The book collectors of Europe were on the *qui vive*. Crowned heads, princes, nobles and wealthy collectors, were alike anxious to secure the gem; but a princely collector of the Fifth avenue in New York bore off the palm, and secured the inestimable volumes for 525 guineas (about $2,600).

These magnificent volumes, which we have had the privilege of examining, are soon described. They are two folios, about the size the folios of our day, and together include 1,274 pages. The paper upon which they are printed is hard, tough and of superior quality. Its colour is a delicate cream-coloured tint. Its typography is a gothic or old English letter, not quite as uniform as the printing of the present time, yet possessing a clearness and sharpness of outline that renders it difficult to decide whether the types are cut in brass or cast in moulds. The ink is, even now, as black as it is possible to make it. The register is very exact, and in all respects, the beauty, the perfection and magnificence of these volumes quite surpass every production of the press for three hundred years after. There are no ornaments, illuminations or engravings in this copy, and the binding, which is modern, is a plain blue morocco.

It is a very striking circumstance, observes a distinguished historian, that the high-minded inventors of this great art tried, at the very outset, so bold a flight as the printing an entire bible, and executed it with such astonishing success. It was Minerva leaping on earth in her divine strength and radiant armour, ready at the moment of her nativity to subdue and destroy her enemies. We may see in imagination this venerable and splendid volume leading up the crowded myriads of its followers, and imploring as it were, a blessing on the new art, by dedicating its first fruits to the service of Heaven.

Of the interesting events connected with the first appearance of the printed bible we will not speak, for volumes have been written upon it, while the poet, the painter, the architect and the sculptor, have alike exercised their genius in erecting monuments to perpetuate the memory of the inventors of printing. Up to the time when the printed bible appeared, manuscript copies being held at enormous prices, could only be possessed by kings and wealthy nobles. The sudden multiplication of copies so beautifully executed, and so similar in appearance, naturally led the then superstitious people to attribute them to some demoniacal influence, and Faust, the printer, was openly charged with being leagued with the devil.

The first book known to be extant which has the name of the place where it was printed, and that of the printers, together with the year when it was executed, is known as the Mentz Psalter, printed in 1457. Faust and Schoeffer were the printers. Only six copies of this are known. The first Bible with a date was also published by Faust & Schoeffer in 1462, in 2 vols. folio. They were soon after multiplied, chiefly in Latin and German; yet all these editions are exceedingly rare. The gentleman to whom we have alluded in New York has copies of almost all the early editions of the Bible, which he has procured with great exertions and at an enormous cost. There is also a very fine collection owned by a private gentleman in Cambridge. Of books printed before the year 1500, there are at least one hundred different works in the library of a distinguished collector in Providence. These are chiefly editions of the classics printed by Aldus, and a number of rare books on America; among the latter, the four several editions of the letter of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella, printed in the year 1493. In the same collection is the magnificent Complutentian Polyglott Bible, in 6 volumes folio, printed by order of Ferdinand and Isabella, under the superintendence of Cardinal Ximenes. This bears the date of 1515 to 1520, and is one of the finest specimens of printing we have ever seen. We have on our own table several books printed between 1484 and 1497, but they possess no particular interest except for their age. One volume, however, has a heavy iron staple and chain through its oaken cover, with which it was chained to the table or alcove where it was kept.—*Providence Journal.*

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

MANY popular impressions concerning "the Declaration of Independence" are derived from fourth of July orations and pictures, both of which are as apt to mislead as does the picture of "the First Prayer in Congress." Nine out of ten suppose that somewhere about noon on the fourth of July, 1776, Congress passed the vote affirming the Colonies independent, and that the old bell-ringer in the steeple of the State House, receiving the intelligence of this event, was seized with a sudden enthusiasm to swing the old bell to ring out the news to the people in such a loud joyous manner as put the quiet citizens of Philadelphia in a wonderful excitement. In fact, I once heard a very intelligent member of a Presbyterian General Assembly, met in that city, work this incident into a telling paragraph in his speech on slavery! Then there was the signing of the Declaration, we have a picture of that too, which teaches us how the representatives of the Colonies vied with other in putting their names to the immortal instrument, so that before night the famous parchment, the original paper, which now is seen in the Patent Office, was engrossed, and signed as we now have it!

A few facts gleaned from various sources will be interesting as rectifying these impressions about this famous transaction—this crisis in human affairs. On the 10th of June, 1776, Mr. Harrison, of Virginia, reported a resolution, part of which is said to have been a literal transcript of the instructions given by the Convention of Virginia to their representatives in Congress, and which was moved on the 7th of June in Congress by Richard Henry Lee. Mr. Harrison's resolution embodying Mr. Lee's is in these words: "Resolved, That the consideration of the first resolution be postponed to Monday, the first day of July next; and in the meanwhile that no time be lost, in case the Congress ageee thereto, that a Committee be appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect of the said first resolution, which is in these words: 'That these United States are, and of right ought to be, free, and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.'"

This resolution was adopted.

On the 11th of June, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and R. R. Livingston, were appointed a Committee to draft the Declaration. Richard Henry Lee as the original mover of the resolution for declaring the Colonies independent would have been named as chairman of the committee, but unfortunately for himself, he received intelligence of sickness in his family, which made it necessary for him to be absent before that Committee was appointed. Jefferson had the reputation of being a brilliant writer, and succeeded to the place of honour. The elder Adams, in his autobiography, says that he saw and read the original draft of the declaration, and he speaks in terms of rapturous admiration of it; "I was delighted with its high tone, and the flights of oratory with which it abounded, especially that concerning negro slavery," &c. He further says of the Committee, intimating that Jefferson's paper had not been read by all the members, "We were all in haste. Congress was impatient, and the instrument was reported, as I believe, in Jefferson's handwriting."

On the 28th of June, the Committee reported the original declaration, which was read for the first time in Congress. On the 1st of July, this declaration was again read and discussed in Committee of the Whole. It was carried in the Committee by vote of the States, Pennsylvania and South Carolina voting against it. John Adams says, that in the discussion of July 1st, Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, opposed the declaration, "in a speech of great length. * * * * He conducted the debate not only with great ingenuity and eloquence, but with equal politeness and candour, and was answered in the same spirit."

Dickinson, a brother of Gen. Philemon Dickinson, of New Jersey, an officer whom Washington frequently mentions with honour, was a strong debater, and a sincere patriot, acknowledging the grievances complained of, but lacking that stern and heroic spirit that animated such men as Adams, Witherspoon, and Lee. Hence he shrank from an open rupture with Great Britain, as certain to end not only in greater evils to the country, but to individuals prominent in the rebellion. In this feeling two other representatives from Pennsylvania shared. But of this more in another place.

Dickinson's speech produced a profound impression, and this is not to be wondered at, when we consider the nature of the contest which it was the object of that speech to show. John Adams, one of the most fluent and powerful speakers, answered Dickinson, and it cannot be too much regretted that not a scrap of that speech remains, except perhaps the tradition out of which Mr. Webster made one of his most splendid paragraphs. It was on the 1st of July that the newly elected delegates from New Jersey, of whom Dr. Witherspoon was one, took their seats and voted a solid vote for the declaration.

The next day, July 2d, the paper was again read and subjected to a severe process, which sifted out some expressions, some phrases, and some paragraphs. Some were thought too disrespectful toward the English *people*, some too hostile to the king personally, and some were too condemnatory (indirectly) of the institution of slavery. During this eliminating process, Jefferson was greatly excited, at times showing his chagrin; which state of mind Franklin greatly relieved by telling to Mr. Jefferson the criticisms made on the sign which a hatter in Philadelphia had over his store. About one-quarter, according to the elder Adams, or one-third, according to Jefferson, of the original paper, was stricken out, leaving the document as we now have it. The adoption of this paper was warmly debated through the second, third and fourth days of July, and toward the close of the latter day the motion to adopt prevailed. It was then signed by nearly every member present, except Mr. Dickinson, who refused to sign. Willing and Humphreys, two delegates from Pennsylvania, purposely absented themselves to avoid signing. These three gentlemen were decapitated forthwith by the Convention of Pennsylvania, then in session, and men elected in their place who would sign. Of the other Pennsylvanian delegates, Franklin, John Morton, and James Wilson, signed the declaration at once, and Robert Morris, the remaining delegate, was absent on public business and had permission to sign afterwards.

It is a fact worth knowing, that the delegates from New York were willing to sign, but waited for instructions from home, which they received, and put their names to the declaration on the 15th of July.

Matthew Thornton did not take his seat in Congress until the 4th of November, and at that time he signed the declaration.

The original paper, as interlined and amended, was given to the Secretary of Congress to be engrossed on parchment, and this engrossed copy, the one in the Patent Office, was again signed by most of the members on the second of August, and at different intervals afterwards by the rest. *Can any one tell whether the real original is yet in existence?*

These facts are gleaned principally from the Journals of Congress, Tucker's Life of Jefferson, and the Works of John Adams.

The passage on negro slavery which was erased from Jefferson's original draft, is not published in books accessible to the most. That passage is as follows: "He—the king—has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL nations, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another."

Tucker, in his Life of Jefferson, supplies this remarkable passage, together with all the changes made in the original draft of the declaration.

Gordon, in his History of the Revolution, says the reason why the *first* of July did not become Independence Day, was, that "neither the colonies nor members being unanimous, it was postponed till the next day."

But when did the venerable bell, still preserved in Independence Hall, peal out the notes of liberty? Gordon has the following answer: "July 8th. This day, at 12 o'clock, the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed at the State House in Philadelphia, amidst the greatest acclamations. The same evening the equestrian statute of the king was laid prostrate on the ground. The lead of which it is made is to be run into bullets."—*Cor. N. Y. Observer.*

From The Boston Post.

A LEGEND.

'Twas on a wintry night, when the earth was white
With shrouds of the driven snow,
And marvelously bright the northern light—
A hundred years ago.

Not a cloud went by the moon in the sky,
Or the planets shining out;
And far overhead a comet red
Was swinging his tail about.

The wind was strong and it swept along
In the valley and on the hill;
And passing in power at the midnight hour,
It shook the roof of the mill:

When the waters slow from the ice below
Were turning the heavy wheel,
And a fat old man as the waters ran,
Was sawing his logs with steel.

From chime to chime, all that weary time,
Went the saw in the bitter cold,
And high or low, and fast or slow,
Like the swing of a ballad old.

The oak was there, who was strong and fair,
And the pine who was green and tall,
And one by one, as its work was done,
The saw had severed them all.

Still the wheel went round, with its solemn sound,
And its heavy load of ice;
And the cock here told the hours in the cold
Of the morning, twice and thrice.

The moon sank low, and the shades on the snow
Were outstretched long and far,
And the head and tail of the comet turned pale,
And fled without touching a star.

Then ceased the noise of the saw's harsh voice,
In the silence strange and deep.
And to and fro walked the old man, slow,
Like one walking in his sleep.

The winds grew still around the mill,
But louder the rushing stream;
And the labour he wrought, with terror fraught,
Was the labour of a dream.

With a calm design, like a log of pine,
Himself to the beam he bound;
And the saw it fell, and it rose as well,
And the wheel went slowly round.

He was drawn along by the waters strong,
Not dreaming he was to die;
And the saw's first stroke, as if meeting oak,
Slabbed off an arm and thigh.

And through and through to its purpose true,
Went the saw from sole to crown;
And never he woke till a mighty stroke
Was splitting his backbone down.

Ah! never, I ween, such plank were seen
Since the days of the saw began;
They were made, you see, of no forest tree,
But the flesh and the bones of a man.

'Twas an awful sight, when the morning light
Of the morrow lingered there;
For the gazing eyes of the neighbours wise
Were big with mysteries rare.

One shook his head, and the minister said
That he of a cloven hoof,
When workers of ill brought logs to his mill,
Came to saw them under that roof.

And never since then do the hands of men
Dare labour in that old mill:
It is crumbling away in swift decay,
And for years have its wheels been still.

O'er the buried stone hath the green grass grown,
In the bed where its waters ran,
And the wise and the great take heed of the fate
Of the ABSENT MINDED MAN.

TAUNTON DEAN.

THE FIELD OF BLOOD.

[From The (London) Empire.]

THE history of the world seems to justify the teaching of Machiavel, that—

"War ought to be the only study of a prince. He ought to consider peace only as a breathing time, which gives him leisure to contrive, and furnishes ability to execute, military plans."

War is the matter which fills all history, and consequently the only, or almost the only, view in which we can see the external of political society is in a hostile shape; and the only actions to which we have always seen, and still see, all of them intent are such as tend to the destruction of one another. To judge of the individuals of our race by their conduct when united into nations and kingdoms would lead to the conclusion that every sort of virtue was unnatural and foreign to the mind of man. Let us, by the aid of ancient history, trace the stream of blood from the remotest period in the past that we are able to reach.

Sesostris led out of Egypt an army of above 700,000 men: he overran the Mediterranean coast as far as Colchis; of this immense number but a very small part returned to enjoy the plunder accumulated by the loss of their companions and the devastation of a considerable part of the world. Half at least of those who composed the expedition perished. Add to these the still greater number lost by the vanquished—for the greatest slaughter is always in the flight—and we see this conqueror, the oldest on the records of history, opening the scene by a destruction of at least one million of his species, unprovoked but by his ambition, without any motives but pride, cruelty, and madness; and without any benefit to himself, but solely to make so many people, in so distant countries, feel experimentally how severe a scourge Providence intends for the human race, when he gives one man the power over many, and arms his naturally impotent and feeble rage with the hands of millions, who know no common principle of action but a blind obedience to the passions of their ruler.

Under the martial Queen Semiramis we see an army of about three millions led out to war against the people of India. We see the natives of that country arming a yet greater number. We see the Queen retreating with scarce a third of the troops employed in the expedition, which must therefore have cost two millions of souls on her part; and if the Hindoos lost but half as many, in this war alone did three millions of souls expire with all the horrors which attend all wars, and in a quarrel in which none of the sufferers could have the least rational concern.

We pass over the Babylonian, Assyrian, Median and Persian monarchies, which, in their formation and destruction, caused seas of human blood to be poured out.

Xerxes—treading in the footsteps of his predecessors, who had consumed in military madness the flower of numerous kingdoms, and wasted the force of an extensive empire—drained half Persia of its inhabitants that he might head an expedition of nearly two millions, who were wasted by the thousand accidents that ever befall a vast army, or were slaughtered by the indomitable foe they sought to vanquish. The Persian empire, in its wars against the Greeks and Scythians, to say nothing of its other wars, offered up in sacrifice not fewer than four millions of its subjects. The conflicts waged abroad were at length brought home to the Persians by Alexander, who, in his career of carnage, swept from the face of the earth not less than twelve hundred thousand of its inhabitants. But the tide of blood ceased not to flow when he fell an early victim to his personal vices. His death did but make a thousand breaches for ruin to enter and complete the scene of misery and destruction. His conquered empire was speedily rent and divided. The several parts turned to tear each other to pieces, and bury the whole in one wide-spread crimson flood. The kings of Egypt and Syria, of Pergamus and Macedon, were at war with each other without intermission for more than two centuries, until at last a strong power arising in the West rushed in upon them and silenced their tumults, by involving all the contending parties in the same common destruction. The contentions amongst the successors of Alexander depopulated the earth of at least two millions.

The disputes of the Greek commonwealths among themselves, and subsequently the struggle between the Macedonians and the Greeks, form one of the bloodiest scenes in history. It is astonishing how so small a space could furnish such hosts for the sacrifice. What a history! of armies cut off; of cities sacked; of inhabitants immolated, or enslaved—the decision of the fate of universal humanity might have depended upon it. Yet all this was through the pitiful ambition of possessing five or six thousand more acres, or two or three more villages. This internecine warfare ended, as all such disputes have ever done, and ever will do, in reducing all the parties to weakness, and the subjection of *all* to the yoke of a stranger who knows how to take advantage of their divisions, and to reap the profit of their mutual exhaustion. From the earliest accounts of the Greeks to their absorption into the Roman empire, their intestine divisions and their foreign wars must have occasioned the massacre of three millions of their number.

Sicily was, in ancient times, a field of blood—first through the struggles for the mode of its government between the republican and the tyrannical parties, and afterwards for the possession of it by the Greeks, the Carthagenians and the Romans. At one time an army of 300,000 was utterly destroyed. Every page of its history is dyed in blood, and blotted and confounded by tumults, rebellions, massacres, assassinations, proscriptions and a series of horrors beyond the history, perhaps, of any other nation in the world. Two millions may, at the lowest computation, be put down as the amount of the loss in human beings suffered by this island during this period of its existence.

Let the wars, and the consequences of them, which wasted Grecia-Magna before the Roman power prevailed in that part of Italy be rated at one million, and let us hasten to open that great scene which establishes the Roman empire, and forms the grand catastophe of the ancient drama. The Roman Empire commenced by an effusion of blood scarcely creditable. The Sabines, the Samnites, the Æqui, the Volci, the Etrurians, were broken by a series of slaughters which had no interruption for some centuries; slaughters which, upon all sides, consumed more than two millions of the wretched people. The Gauls, rushing into Italy during this period, added the total annihilation of their own armies to that of the ancient inhabitants. It would be impossible to conceive a more horrid and bloody picture, but that the Punic wars that succeeded soon after, presented one of still more appalling features. These wars reached a climax of devastation and ruin that seemed to shake the earth. The extent to which they made havoc of the human species astonishes beyond the power of expression. They devoured three millions of the rational creatures of God. Yet this number describes a part only of the wholesale butchery caused by the Roman ambition. How bloody was the war with Mithridates! That prince cut off at one stroke 150,000 Romans. In that war, Sylla destroyed 300,000 men at Cheronea. He defeated the army of Mithridates under Dorilaus, and slew 300,000. He himself lost 3000,000 before Cyzicum. In the course of the war he sustained innumerable other losses, and in his intervals of success revenged them with equal severity. At last he was totally overthrown, but he fell not alone. In the greatness of his ruin he crushed to pieces his ally the King of Armenia. All who had connections with him shared the same fate. At this period, the sword, glutted with foreign slaughter, turned its edge upon the bowels of the Roman Republic itself, which presented a scene of cruelties and treasons enough to obliterate the memory of all past external devastations.

We stay not to observe upon the Servile, the Social, the Gallic and Spanish wars; nor upon those with Jugurtha, nor Antiochus, nor many others, equally important, and carried on with equal fury. The butcheries of Julius Cæsar alone have been reckoned at 1,200,000.

Let us change the scene and contemplate for a few moments the march of the destroyer on another field. Let us go to the land of Judea—small in extent, but ennobled by the sublime events of which it has been the theatre.

The first settling of the Jews in this land was attended by an almost entire extirpation of all the former inhabitants. Their own wars and those with their petty neighbours consumed vast multitudes almost every year for several centuries; and the irruptions of the Kings of Babylon and Assyria made immense ravages. But let us come to that part of the history of the Jews which coincides with Roman history, and to the time when they experienced that final and tremendous stroke which utterly scattered them as a nation—a stroke which is allowed to have cut off little less than two millions of that doomed people. Now, if in this considerable part of the globe such a carnage could be effected in two or three short reigns, and if this carnage, fearful as it is, makes but a minute part of what the histories of that people inform us they suffered, what are we to judge of countries more extended, and which have waged wars far more considerable?

Instances of this sort are almost uniformly the subject matter of history. But there have been periods when no less than universal destruction to the race of mankind seems to have been threatened. It was so when the Goths, the Vandals and the Huns poured into Gaul, Spain, Italy, Greece, and Africa, carrying destruction before them as they advanced, and leaving horrid deserts everywhere behind them.

Then came the overwhelming and resistless torrent of Arab invasion and conquest—a torrent that, pouring from the South, ravaged all to the North-East and West, to the remotest parts of Persia on the one hand, and to the banks of the Loire, or further, on the other—destroying all the proud and curious monuments of human art, that not even the memory might seem to survive of the former inhabitants.

Behold, again, the effects of bigotry and avarice in the conquest of Spanish America—a conquest purchased by the murder of ten millions of the species.

Laying together all those actually slain in battles, or who have perished in a no less miserable manner by the other destructive consequences of war, from the beginning of the world to this day, in the four parts of it, it is no exaggerated calculation to place them at 36,000,000,000. Into this calculation must be taken the wars innumerable which have found no record on the pages of history—the massacre of the species over those vast spaces of the globe which History, until modern times, never embraced within its comprehension; those deluges of silent and inglorious blood which have glutted the thirsty sands of far-stretching Africa, or fed the savage forests of America—from the Polar snows to the most Southern Cape—those general massacres which have devoured whole cities and nations—those blasting pestilences and wasting famines which follow in the train of war. This calculation of the slaughter of mankind, which any one who sits down to consider the subject will admit is a most moderate one, amounts to forty times the number of souls this day on the earth!

From the earliest dawnings of political society to the present day, the invention of men has been sharpening and improving the mystery of murder—from the first rude essays of clubs and stones to the present perfection of gunnery, cannonading, bombarding, mining, shelling, rocket firing, and steam-vessels of war. All this is called "improvement," "civilization," and "refinement." How far Nature would have carried us we may judge by the example of those animals who still follow her laws, and even of those to whom Nature has given dispositions more fierce, and arms more terrible, than were ever intended for the use of man. It is an incontestible truth, that there is more havoc made in year of *men* by *men* than has been made by all the lions, tigers, panthers, ounces, leopards, hyenas, rhinoceroses, elephants, bears and wolves, upon their several species since the beginning of the world. The politics of the statesmen, legislators, and civilizers of mankind have done more mischief in cold blood than all the rage of the fiercest animals in their greatest terrors or furies has ever done or could do.

The interest, the ambition, the malice, or the revenge—nay, even the whim and caprice of one ruling man is enough to arm all the rest, without any private views of their own, to the worst and blackest purposes; and what is at once more lamentable, and more ridiculous, the deluded instruments of such a man will fight under his banners with a fury greater than if they were animated by revenge for their own proper wrongs.

O shame to men! Devil with devil damn'd
Firm concord holds. Men only disagree
Of creatures rational, though under hope
Of heavenly grace; and God proclaiming peace,
Yet live in hatred, enmity and strife
Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,
Wasting the earth each other to destroy,
As if (which might induce us to accord)
Man had not hellish foes enough besides
That day and night for his destruction wait.

MRS. MOODIE.

IT may not be well known to American readers, that Mrs. Moodie, the author of "Roughing it in the Bush," a work which had an English circulation quite as large as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," was one of those first interested in British Emancipation. She was the author of "Mary Prince." Mr. Pringle having had the audacity to print this book as his own, was carried before the House of Commons, to give an account of an alteration that he had made in the manuscript, upon the charge of libel. It is our intention at some future time to draw public attention more directly to Mrs. Moodie's public services in this cause. We allude to them at present, only to introduce the following verses, hitherto unpublished, from her pen. She is well known to be a sister of Agnes Strickland. We mention this as a fact; not because we feel that her admirable talents and noble character need any support from Miss Strickland's literary reputation.

A REPLY TO THE ARGUMENT ADVANCED in the House of Commons in 1831, by Distinguished Members, that the White Slaves of Briton should be emancipated before the Negro. By Susanna Moodie.

What! suffer the negro in bondage to groan,
Because you confess you have slaves of your own?
You say that the peasant is ground to the earth,
His toils unrewarded, neglected his worth:
You feelingly talk of the wrongs of the poor,
Who droop in your service and starve at your door,
While you tell us that Slavery *may be* a sin,
But that charity *first* with our own should begin.
Then let it begin—why in God's name defer
A blessing you boast you 're the power to confer?
Can the tears of the African lighten the chain
Of which you rich lords of the manor complain?
Can the wrongs you inflict, or the wealth you abuse,
In the sight of your God form sufficient excuse
For upholding a cause to which tyrants have given
All the sanctions of earth, in defiance of Heaven?

Ye heartless enslavers! whom freedom would spurn,
With just indignation our free bosoms burn,
When you dare to defend the fell demons who bind,
In one soul-crushing bondage, the body and mind
Of suffering thousands whom God has endowed
With senses as keen as on you he bestowed;
When you talk of the worth of the trader in blood,
And justify evil by calling it good—
Oh! think not such sophistry freemen can blind,
'Tis the *feeling in common*, which makes *you so kind!*

It does not seem impertinent to publish the above lines at a time when ignorant women in America are seriously recommending the most enlightened philanthropists of the age to look after the peasant poor, before they interest themselves in the cause of the American slave. There is not a week when we do not have to blush for some woman who confounds the two Duchesses of Sutherland, or who attacks a measure of public beneficence as if it were an act of outrageous tyranny.—*C. H. Dall, in The Una.*

W. Newton, Feb., 1855.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

Madame Jenny Lind Goldschmidt, according to a report in the German papers, has been attacked with some terrible disease in the face, without the slightest hopes of recovering from it.

——SLEEPY SERMON.—The late Sidney Smith, in reference to certain parsons who, by handling the most sublime truths in the dullest language and the driest manner, so often set their hearers to sleep, used to ask whether "sin was to be taken from men as Eve was from Adam, by casting them into a deep slumber?"

——M. ALEXANDER DUMAS.—M. Alexander Dumas writes to the *Presse* that unfortunately the story told, and, moreover, vouched for, by a correspondent of the *Indépendance Belge*, of an octogenarian having left him a legacy of 3,000,000f. is a fable. He has already, he says, received, on the faith of the announcement, applications from creditors for 163,000f.; so that, even had the news been true, he would now have only a balance of 137,000f. He throws out the hint that some kind friend may have perhaps invented the story, in the hope of putting into the head of some octogenarian or nonagenarian to bequeath a fortune to him. In that case, he takes the will for the deed, and begs to thank his anonymous friend.

——THE EMPEROR LOUIS NAPOLEON AND THE SCOTTISH LANGUAGE.—Mr. Henry Scott Riddell, of Teviothead, the well-known author of "Scotland Yet," and many other esteemed and popular national songs, was recently, on the recommendation of a clergyman of the Established Church, employed to translate the Gospel of Matthew into the Lowland Scotch. Mr. Riddell finished his task a few weeks ago, and he has now been informed that his employer is no other than the Emperor of the French. The Emperor, he has been given to understand, takes a curious interest in language, and it would appear is especially interested in the older language of Caladonia, the country of the progenitors of his Empress.

——CURIOUS TYPOGRAPHICAL ERROR.—Professor Trench, in his latest work on the English language, points out a curious typographical error in the 20th verse of the 23d chapter of St. Matthew. The words, "which strains *at* a gnat and swallows a camel," the professor thinks contain a misprint, which, having been passed over in the edition of 1611, has held its ground ever since. The translators intended to say, "which strain *out* a gnat and swallow a camel," that being the correct rendering of the original, as appears in Tynedale's and Cranmer's translations, both of which have "strained *out*." It was the custom of the stricter Jews to strain their wine, vinegar and other potables, through linen or gauze, lest unawares they should drink some little, unclean insect, as a gnat, and thus transgress the Levitical law. It was to this custom the Saviour alluded, intending to say, that the Scribes and Pharisees, while they strain out a gnat from their drink, would yet swallow a camel at a gulp.

——QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE LATE MR. HUME.—It is a very curious and interesting fact that the last letter written by the late Mr. Hume, was to the Queen, informing her that he had a balance to pay into her hands, saved from the wreck of her father's property, of which the duke had made him a trustee. About a dozen persons, among whom was Hume, had subscribed to pay off the duke's debts, and Hume managed it all—he saved the duke's credit, paid off all his debts, coaxed his property, allowed him to die a popular and respected man, and, in clearing up his own affairs in the world, had a considerable balance to pay into the hands of his old friend's daughter. This, of course, will astonish people, who could never have supposed the radical Hume on good terms with a royal duke. But there was something more than that. He was on good terms with the Queen, who had, as a girl and woman, as Princess and Queen, the highest regard for him, and for whom he had the most unbounded respect. Well, he wasn't made a minister; but that was the aristocracy's fault—not the Queen's.—*Yorkshireman.*

——CARLYLE ON DUFFY, THE IRISH PATRIOT.—In reference to a proposal to entertain Mr. Duffy in London, before his departure for Australia, Mr. Carlyle has written the subjoined note to a friend:

"5th Sept., 1855.

"Some short time ago I received a circular, with Mr. Whitty's signature, on the same subject as your note, and was well pleased to learn that such a project was in agitation on behalf of Mr. Duffy, to which I wish all success very sincerely, though myself unable to take part in it. I have a real regard and even affection for Duffy, whose fine truthful intellect, and ardent humane character were always recognisable to me, in the worst tumult of Irish confusions. His course then—which I never could applaud for wisdom, nor rebuke without pity and respect—has all along seemed to me one of the most tragical; and surely it has been troublous enough, tumbling in the wake of that monster of Blarney, Big O and his 'justice for Ireland' (the ugliest imposter generated in my time), and, alas! it *ends* in a sufficiently mournful manner, though in a manful and pathetic one on my poor friend Duffy's part! I would gladly go and testify these feelings on his behalf, whenever it might be useful or suitable; but, on the other hand, I can perceive this dinner will not be the place for me to do it, but for others, differently related to it than I, and who probably have somewhat other feelings to express. In short, there are multifarious reasons, admonishing absence on my part—two reasons, were there no other: Permanent wish to steer clear to windward of O'Connellism and of anti-ditto in all their branches; and, secondly, the horror and misery I undergo in all 'Public Dinners' whatsoever! I pray, therefore, let me be excused, and believe at the same time to wish the enterprise heartily well, as I do.

"Yours ever truly, T. CARLYLE."

—— THE "TIMES" AND TENNYSON.—In reviewing "Maud," the *Times* says: "Can we wonder at the products of such miserable sentimentalism? Can we wonder that the poems are without form and void? There they are—full of nonsense dressed up as enigmas; full of diseased thought that is partially concealed by a hectic beauty; full of hiccough and maudlin; full of genius and absurdity; with talk as fluent as the deluge, and action as little as in the ark; with morbid heroes predestined to Beldam, and morbid heroines predestined to the Magdalen. It is with great pain that we find it necessary to review Mr. Tennyson's latest poems with these observations. But the fact is that 'Maud' is unworthy of his genius, and gathers into a focus all the worst faults of the popular poetry of the day—the poetry which is